

# CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST

WASHINGTON D.C.



THE PRO AND CON MONTHLY

▼ May, 1931 ▼

## **New Problems Revive Interest in Independence of Philippines**

**Political History of the Philippines**

**How Philippines are Governed Today**

**The Hawes-Cutting Independence Bill**

**Opposing Views in Senate Committee**

**Pro and Con Discussion--**

**Is Early Independence Advisable?**

**Has America Promised Independence?**

▼  
**Beginning--**

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# The Congressional Digest

## The Pro and Con Monthly

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# The CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST ▼

May, 1931  
Vol. 10 No. 5

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## The Nation's Capital--

*—"In This City, Laid out by Washington and Created in His Name, is Located the Capitol of Our Nation, the Emblem of Our Union, and the Symbol of Our Greatness"*

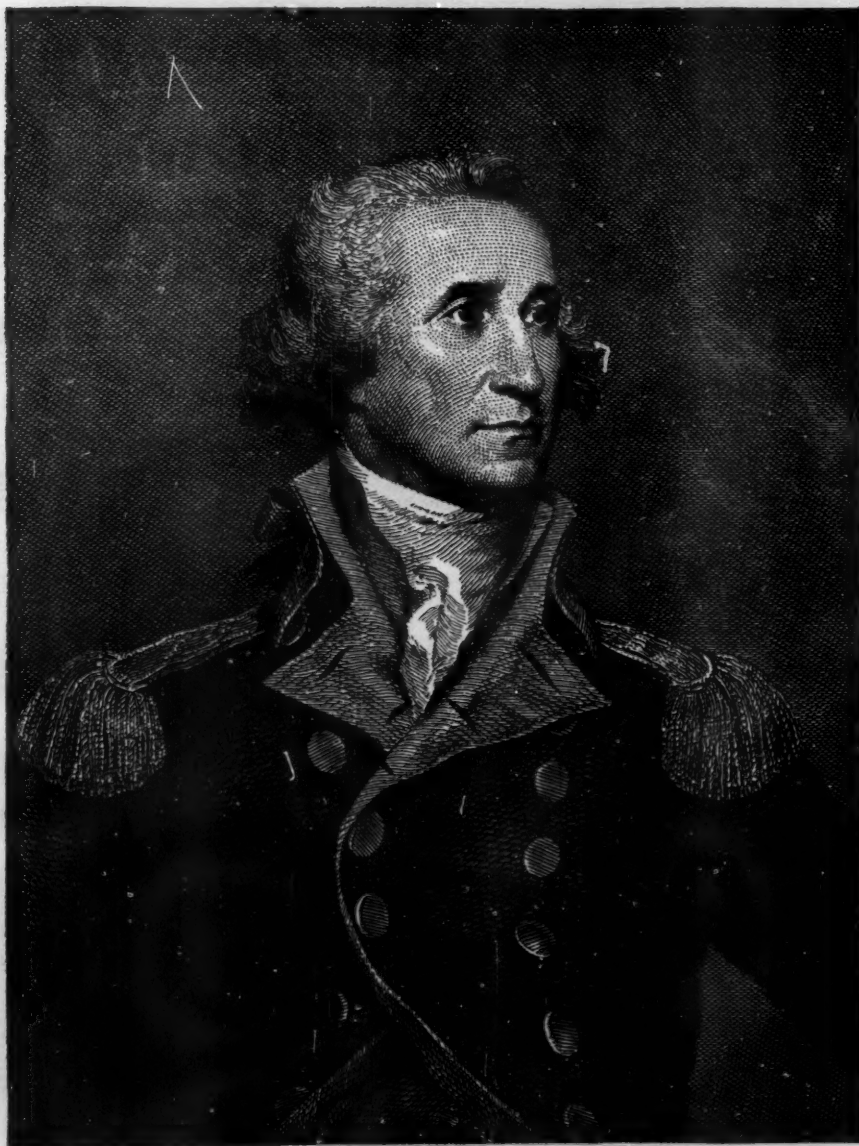
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## An Announcement--

**A** new feature of the Congressional Digest, dedicated to the expanding beauties of the City of Washington, begins with this issue.

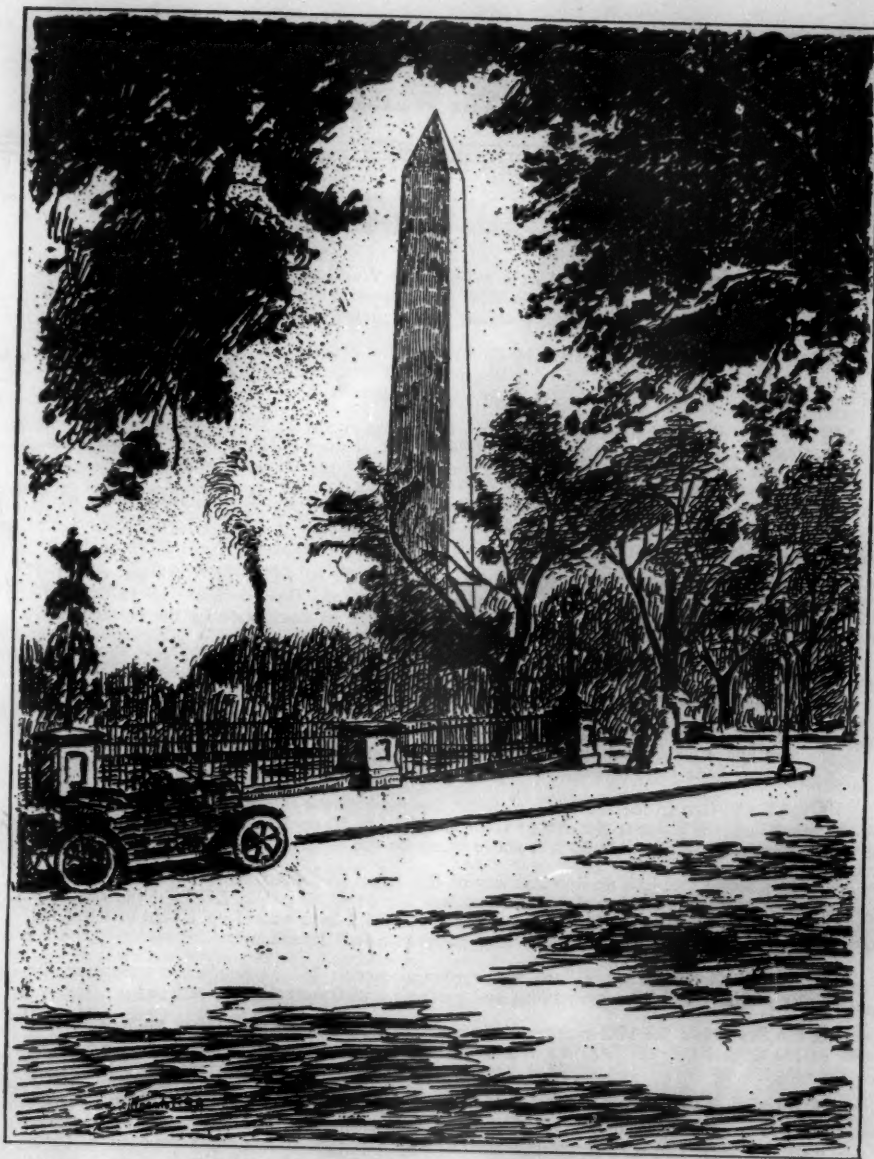
**I**nspired in large measure by the extensive preparations on the part of the federal government for the Washington Bicentennial, this feature will present pen impressions of the celebrated landmarks and buildings of the City---many of which are fulfilling at last the dream of our First President, in whose vision and foresight our great Capital City had its inception.



**GEORGE WASHINGTON**

Portrait by Colonel Trumbull  
Engraved by A. R. Dunard  
Owned by Yale College





**THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT**

Etching by Ruel Pardee Tolman

# The Washington Monument - -

▼ First of The Washington Pilgrimage Series

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## Did You Know? - -

**THAT** it took 18 years of actual work to build the Washington Monument? Work began in 1848, continued for six years, until 1854, was suspended for 22 years until 1876, when it was resumed and finished in 1888, covering a total period of 40 years.

**THAT** the movement was started by the Washington National Monument Society, organized in 1833, with Chief Justice John Marshall as its first president? The Society still exists, the President of the United States is ex-officio its president.

**THAT** the competition for a design for a monument to cost \$1,000,000 was won by Robert Mills of Charleston, S. C., a pupil and apprentice of Benjamin H. Latrobe, English architect, while the latter was supervising the construction of the Capitol Building?

**THAT** the Monument has two cornerstones? The first was laid July 4, 1848, when work was first begun. The second was laid 153 feet further up, in 1880, when the work on the shaft was resumed by army engineers.

**THAT** the entire cost of the Monument was \$1,300,000, of which \$300,000 was collected by popular subscription, the remainder appropriated by the Government? In 1876 President Grant approved the Act of Congress providing for its completion by the Government.

**THAT** the Monument is a pure obelisk, the largest obelisk in the world? It stands 555 feet high and is 55 feet at the base. Its foundation is 36 feet deep and covers 16,000 square feet. The foundation weighs nearly 37,000 tons and the Monument itself nearly 64,000 tons.

**THAT** the Monument is crowned by a small right pyramid of pure aluminum, 6 inches at the base and 9 inches high, weighing 100 ounces? At the time it was set, in 1884, it was the largest single piece of aluminum ever cast in the world.

**THAT** 150 feet up the shaft is a clear-cut line marking the end of the first period of building? The mark is due to the change from Maryland to Massachusetts marble. A second line is more faintly discernible 26 feet above when the use of Maryland marble was resumed.

**THAT** inside the shaft an iron stairway of 898 steps, encircling an elevator well, leads to the top? Since 1888, when the Monument was opened to the public, 7,173,061 persons have ridden to the top in the electric elevator, and 2,689,351 have walked up, a total of 9,862,412 visitors. In 1930 the visitors numbered more than half a million.

**THAT** the inner walls are lined with memorial stones, 187 in number, representing the states of the Union, foreign nations and patriotic and fraternal organizations?

**THAT** whether the visitor approaches from North, South, East or West, his first glimpse of the Capitol City discloses the Washington Monument rising over the city like a silent sentinel?

**THAT** the Monument's gleaming white beauty, obvious by day, is enhanced at nightfall, when, in a gentle play of electric light, it appears, a slender, silver shaft, ever pointing upward? Soon a new lighting system will be devised which, while sacrificing none of the Monument's nocturnal beauty, will enable it to serve as a beacon for aviators.

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*"Taken by Itself, the Washington Monument stands Not Only as One of the Most Stupendous Works of Man, but also as One of the Most Beautiful of All Human Creations. It is at Once So Great and So Simple That It Seems to Be Almost a Work of Nature."*

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# New Problems Revive Consideration of Philippine Independence

## Foreword

**D**URING the consideration of the tariff bill in the late Congress, the question of immediate independence for the Philippine Islands, which had previously received only intermittent consideration, suddenly came into prominence, due largely to the steady growth in agricultural production in the Philippines which had reached the point where agricultural interests in America began to feel the effects of Philippine competition. Under the organic law of the Philippines, enacted by Congress in 1916, free trade exists between the islands and the United States.

Numerous bills demanding a duty on Philippine products were introduced into both branches. The House Committee on Ways and Means heard at length proponents and opponents of these measures, but the bill, as finally reported and passed by the House, left the Philippines on a free trade basis.

When the tariff bill was under discussion on the floor of the Senate on October 9, 1929, Senator King of Utah suddenly offered an amendment for absolute freedom for the Philippines and providing for the setting up of a constitution for the Islands which would separate them entirely from the United States. This, of course, would have made Philippine products subject to the payment of duties upon entering the United States.

The King amendment caused something of a flurry in the Senate and during the debate Senator Bingham of Connecticut, chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, announced that in the forthcoming regular session his committee would consider and report some kind of bill dealing directly with Philippine independence.

After this announcement the King amendment was defeated by a vote of 45 to 36, but both Senator Robinson of Arkansas, the Democratic leader, and Senator Borah of Idaho, Republican, who had voted against the King amendment, announced that the final vote did not represent the views of the Senate on the straight out question of independence for the Philippines.

In the meantime the steady influx of Filipinos to the Pacific Coast states, principally California, where from time to time riots have occurred over labor troubles, led the American Federation of Labor and other labor interests to propose that the exclusion laws applicable to other Orientals be applied to the Filipinos.

As with the tariff proposals, the exclusion proposals were discussed but not acted upon. But the development of these two phases of the Philippine question served to bring about a change in the attitude of many Americans regarding the disposition of the Philippines. Many who, previously, had been opposed to the granting of Philippine independence on general grounds were forced to approve it because of their own economic necessity.

In carrying out the promise made by its chairman, Senator Bingham, the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs began hearings on January 15, 1930, on all measures that had been introduced in the Senate on the question of Philippine independence. These hearings were continued off and on until May 22 and covered every possible phase of the question.

A special commission was sent from the Philippines to present the Filipino viewpoint. The Secretaries of State, War and the Navy appeared and presented the official viewpoint of the American Government. Agricultural and commercial organizations and individuals out of these groups and students of international affairs also appeared before the committee.

In the end, however, the matter boiled down to the Hawes-Cutting bill, S. 3822, which was reported by the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs on June 2, 1930, with majority and minority reports. The Hawes-Cutting bill was a combination of bills introduced by Senator Hawes, Missouri, Democrat, and Senator Cutting, New Mexico, Republican, and provided for a new government to have a trial period of five years, at the end of which the Filipinos would vote on whether they want absolute independence.

The Hawes-Cutting bill was placed on the program of the Republican Steering Committee of the Senate, but had not been reached when the Seventy-first Congress came to an end on March 4, 1931. This means that the bill will have to be reintroduced in the next Congress; be referred to committee and again reported out before the Senate can act upon it.

As a result of the testimony given at the various committee hearings and the numerous speeches on the subject in both Houses during the Seventy-first Congress the various points of controversy on the question were clearly brought out. They may be summarized as follows:

1. Has the Government of the United States ever definitely promised to grant absolute independence to the Filipinos?

*Continued on page 136*

# Highlights in the Political

**1521:** On March 12, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the employ of the Spanish Government, landed in the Philippines and attempted to establish Spanish rule. He met with determined resistance from the native Filipinos and was killed on Mactau Island, off Cebu, on April 22.

**1543:** In February, Villalobos, a Spaniard, sailed from Mexico for the Philippines with five ships and 370 men and took partial control of the Philippines in behalf of Spain.

**1565:** Legazpi, in behalf of Spain, founded San Miguel, on the Island of Cebu. This act resulted from an agreement between Spain and Portugal that Spain should have the Philippine Islands.

**1573:** Spain finally asserted her control after desultory resistance by the Filipinos.

**1574:** The first determined revolt against Spain occurred. The Spanish Governor ordered the Filipinos to supply the Spanish troops with food, taking two prominent Filipinos as hostages. When, after a time, the Filipinos refused to comply with the order, the two hostages were shot. This precipitated the revolt.

**1588:** A revolt to expel the Spaniards from the Philippine Islands was begun but was short lived.

**1649:** The most widespread revolt the Spanish Government had yet encountered against the system of conscripting labor was launched.

**1661:** A revolt in Ilocos Provinces in the northern part of the Archipelago.

**1762:** The Province of Cagayan, Laguna and Batangas revolted.

**1774:** Revolution in Bohol in the middle part of the Archipelago.

**1807:** Revolution in Northern Luzon. Filipinos demanded constitutional rights.

**1840:** Extensive revolt in Southern Luzon led by Apolinario de la Cruz, a student in theology.

**1872:** A revolt based upon the principle that all people should of right be free.

**1892:** The beginning of united and constructive struggle characterized by a systematic campaign for freedom and culminating in the execution of the Filipino hero and martyr, Jose Rizal.

**1896:** The biggest armed conflict against Spain under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio and General Aguinaldo. With the exception of Manila, the entire Archipelago was taken back from Spain and the Philippine Republic under the presidency of Aguinaldo was established.

**1521-**

**1898:** On April 21 the United States declared war on Spain. On May 1 Admiral Dewey entered Manila Bay and destroyed the Spanish fleet.

On August 12 a protocol was signed by the United States and Spain at Washington, Article III of which read:

"The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines."

On August 26 General Merritt took over military control at Manila.

On December 10 the treaty was signed at Paris, under which sovereignty of the Philippines was ceded by Spain to the United States. The United States paid Spain \$20,000,000, which represented the outstanding debts of the Philippines.

**1899:** The first Philippine Commission, familiarly styled "The Schurman Commission" from the name of its president, was composed of Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University; Major General Elwell S. Otis, Military Governor of the Philippines; Rear-Admiral George Dewey, Commander of the Asiatic squadron; Charles Denby, former Minister to China; and Dean C. Worcester, a Professor of the University of Michigan. The civilian members assembled at Washington on January 18, 1899, and received the President's instructions. The Commission reached Manila on March 4, 1899. The revolution of the Filipinos against the United States began, headed by Aguinaldo.

**1900:** On December 23 the Federal Party was formed by Filipinos. Commissioner Worcester stated "They convinced many of the common people of the true purposes of the American government, and in numerous other ways rendered invaluable services."

A new Commission was appointed on March 16, composed of William H. Taft, President; Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, and Bernard Moses. For the guidance of the Commission, President McKinley issued instructions on April 7.

**1901:** The Spooner Amendment was approved March 2. Its object was "to change the Philippine Government from a presidential to a congressional basis, to separate military and civil powers, and to have a civil and statutory foundation rather than a military and implied one."



# History of the Philippines

## 1931

An order of the President, dated June 21, appointed William H. Taft, the President of the Commission, as the first Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands.

Under the Chief Executive, the Insular organization was completed by an order of the President effective September 1, 1901, making the four members of the Commission heads of four executive departments. Three Filipino members without portfolios were added to the Commission. One more Filipino member was added on July 6, 1908.

In the central government, Filipinization began with the appointment of Filipino judges in 1901, including the Chief Justice and two Justices of the Supreme Court, and of three Filipino members to the Commission in September, 1901. Another member was added later, but still leaving the ratio five to four. In 1913 a majority of Filipinos in the Commission were appointed.

1902: On July 1 the Philippine Bill was passed by Congress. With the enactment of the organic law for the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, Filipino and Moro self-government took a long step forward.

1905: The Nacionalistas, although not yet formally organized as a party, presented themselves to the Commission and submitted a memorial over Philippine Independence.

1907: The most significant of all the moves looking to Filipino self-government was the institution of the Philippine Assembly (elective) dividing legislative authority with the Philippine Commission. \* \* \* The first Philippine Assembly convened on October 16, 1907, in the City of Manila.

The Nacionalista Party was organized with this platform: "The obtaining of the *immediate* independence of the Philippines in order to organize the country into a free sovereign nation under a democratic government without prejudice to adopting in its day any form of guaranty which will be convenient to the interest of the Filipino people and which circumstances would require."

Election of delegates to the First Philippine Assembly resulted in a victory for the Nacionalista Party. As a result of its defeat, the Federal Party was changed to Progressive National Party which changed from annexation to gradual autonomy leading to independence.

1916: The Philippine Autonomy Act, quite generally spoken of as the Jones Bill, was passed by Congress on August 29.

1917: The Progressive National Party was merged with the National Democrata Party, which is now the present Democrata Party of the Philippines. It adopted in its platform immediate independence for the Philippines.

1918: November 1, the Commission of Independence, composed of the presiding officers and members of both Houses of the Philippine Legislature, was organized and entrusted with the duty of consolidating all efforts towards securing immediate, absolute and complete independence for the Philippines.

1919: The Philippine Legislature sent to the United States an official Independence Commission composed of 40 prominent Filipinos to urge the granting of complete independence. President Wilson was in Paris, but sent, through the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, a message to the effect that he thought Philippine independence "almost in sight."

1920: On December 7, President Wilson, in a message to Congress, recommended the granting of immediate independence on the ground that the Filipinos had, under the Jones act, established and maintained a stable government and that "it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet." Congress took no action on President Wilson's recommendation.

1921: On March 23 President Harding announced the appointment of Gen. Leonard Wood and W. Cameron Forbes to go to the Philippines to study conditions and make a report on them on which the President could base recommendations to Congress. On May 4 the Wood-Forbes Mission arrived in Manila, visited every section of the islands, held hearings, and made its final report on October 8.

Its recommendations were that the general status of the Philippines be continued until the people had time "to master and absorb the powers already in their hands," and that "under no circumstances should the American Government permit to be established in the Philippine Islands a situation which would leave the United States in a position of authority without responsibility."

1922: Following the visit to the Philippines of the Wood-Forbes Mission and the publication of its report, the Philippine Legislature sent a second Mission to the United States, known as the Parliamentary Mission, because it was headed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. This Mission made a direct appeal to President Harding for independence.

On June 29 President Harding, in a formal reply in which he dealt at length with the Philippine situation, expressed the view that the time for Philippine independence had not arrived.

**1924:** On January 8 the Philippine Independence Mission, through its chairman, Manuel Roxas, Speaker of the Philippine House, addressed a petition to Congress asking for immediate action on Philippine independence, and also presented to President Coolidge resolutions adopted by the Philippine Legislature for independence.

On February 21 President Coolidge wrote a letter to the Independence Mission in which he stated regarding the appeal for independence:

"Frankly, it is not felt that that time has come. It is felt that in the present state of world relationship the American Government owes an obligation to continue extending a protecting arm to the people of these islands. It is felt also that quite aside from this consideration, there remain to be achieved by the Filipino people many greater advances on the road to education, culture, economic and political capacity before they should undertake the full responsibility for their administration. The American Government will assuredly cooperate in every way to encourage and inspire the full measure of progress which still seems a necessary preliminary to independence."

Continued agitation in Washington and Manila caused General Leonard Wood, Governor General of the Philippines, to cable the Secretary of War on March 14 his opposition to immediate independence. In his cablegram General Wood stated: "I sympathize deeply with the desire of the Filipino people for independence, but know they are not yet prepared to assume its responsibility, either from the standpoint of instructed public opinion, preparedness for defense, a common language or economic resources."

In conclusion, General Wood stated: "As I see it, the responsibility rests squarely upon us to continue our work here until we ourselves are satisfied these people are prepared to maintain an independent national existence."

**1927:** The Philippine Legislature passed a bill providing for a plebiscite in the Philippines on the question of independence.

On April 6 President Coolidge vetoed this bill. His veto was accompanied by a long message stating his reasons for the veto. In summarizing his views he wrote:

"I am forced to return this bill without my approval, for the following reasons:

"The plebiscite, under conditions provided for, in fact, now possible, would not accomplish the stated purpose. The result of the vote would be unconvincing.

"It might create friction and disturb business, slowing down progress.

"It might be taken to mean its approval by the United States or as an act likely to influence the United States.

"Finally, I feel that it should be disapproved because it is a part in the agitation in the islands which, by discour-

aging capital and labor, is delaying the arrival of the day when the Philippines will have overcome the most obvious present difficulty in the way of its maintenance of an unaided government. The people should realize that political activity is not the end of life, but rather a means to attain those economic, industrial and social conditions essential to a stable existence. A plebiscite on the question of immediate independence would tend to divert the attention of the people towards the pursuit of mere political power rather than to the consideration of the essential steps necessary for the maintenance of a stable, prosperous, well-governed community."

**1929-1930:** Hearings were held by the House Committee on Ways and Means on bills to apply the tariff to Philippine products entering the United States; by the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization on bills to apply the Asiatic exclusion ban to the Filipinos; by the Senate Committee on Commerce on bills to extend the coastwise shipping laws to the Philippines and by the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs on bills for Philippine independence. The hearings before the last named committee began on January 15, 1930, and continued from time to time until May 22. Finally the Hawes-Cutting bill was reported on June 2, with majority and minority reports. No action was taken by the Senate. (See Foreword.)

## Foreword Continued

From Page 133

2. If this promise has been made and is contingent upon the Filipinos being ready for self-government, have the Filipinos reached that condition?

3. If given their independence can the Filipinos stand alone economically and maintain their own national defense?

4. Would the economic interests of the United States best be served by relinquishment of control of the Philippines?

5. Would the international interests of the United States best be controlled by their relinquishment?

6. If the United States yielded to the demands of the Filipino political leaders and the demands of the American agricultural, business and labor interests and granted immediate or early independence to the Philippines, would she really be fulfilling her moral obligations to the mass of the Filipinos?

All these points are set forth and discussed in the Pro and Con section of this issue.

# Present Law Governing Philippines

## The Jones Act

### Text of Preamble

**W**hereas, it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas, it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas, for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence;

Therefore be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, etc. (text of Act).

### Digest of Text

**T**HE organic act of 1916 gave to the Philippine people the greatest degree of self-government which they have exercised in practice (not overlooking, in this connection, the claims which have been put forth regarding the existence of a Philippine Republic during the period 1898-1901) at any time since the islands first came under Spanish control in the sixteenth century. The government established under the organic act is based upon the western conception of three coordinate branches of government—executive, legislative, and judicial. It has wide powers in domestic matters and as regards the foreign trade of the islands.

The organic act under which the government of the Philippine Islands is conducted contemplated, however, that there should continue, pending a future time when the people of the islands should be "better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities \* \* \* of complete independence," certain American control and supervision even in domestic governmental affairs. That control and supervision presumably marks the minimum which Congress

considered then necessary in order to insure that American obligations as to the Philippines should adequately be met. Provisions for the continuance of that guiding direction were included in the act in part as follows:

*In executive matters*, through the provision for the appointment by the President, of the Governor General, of the vice governor (who is also ex officio head of the department of education) and of the auditor, who is the key man in financial matters.

*In legislative matters*, through the veto power vested in the Governor General; through the power retained by Congress not only to annul, should it see fit to do so, any act of the local legislature but also to legislate exclusively regarding certain important matters (e. g., trade relations between the islands and the United States); through those provisions of the organic act which require express approval by the President of local legislation in certain cases (such as laws amendatory to the tariff and laws with reference to immigration, currency, and coinage, the public domain, timber, and mining) before such legislation shall become effective; through that part of section 19 of the organic act wherein provision is made by Congress for the fiscal support of the government of the Philippine Islands in case, at the termination of any fiscal year, the appropriations necessary for the support of that government shall not have been made.

*In judicial matters*, through the provision for the appointment by the President of the members of the Philippine Supreme Court (of which a majority are Americans) and the vesting in the Supreme Court of the United States of powers of appellate review in certain matters, including those "wherein the Constitution or any statute or treaty of the United States is involved, or wherein the value in controversy exceeds \$25,000." (Amendment to organic act contained in act of February 13, 1925.)

*Matters pertaining to the international relations* of the islands, including questions of national defense therein involved, are handled exclusively by the Federal Government.

The stable government which has for many years existed in the Philippine Islands reflects, especially since the passage of the present organic act in 1916, very liberal local autonomy, and the Philippine people has in general evidenced marked advance in a single generation of progress

*Continued on page 139*



# Proposed Legislation for Philippine Independence

**W**hen the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs met on January 15, 1930, to consider proposed legislation for Philippine independence it had before it S. 3822, introduced jointly by Senator Harry B. Hawes, Missouri, Democrat, and Senator Bronson Cutting, New Mexico, Republican, providing for the withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippines and for recognition of their independence after a five-year period.

Other bills before the committee were S. 204, providing for the withdrawal of the United States from the Philippine Islands; S. 3108, to enable the people of the Philippine Islands to adopt a constitution, etc.; Senate Joint Resolution 113, requesting the President to call a conference on the Philippine question; Senate Resolution 199, to investigate the feasibility of tariff autonomy for the Philippines; and S. 3379, to enable the people of the Philippine Islands to adopt a constitution, etc.

On June 2, 1930, the Hawes-Cutting bill, S. 3822, as amended in committee, was reported to the Senate, with majority and minority reports. (See next page.) This bill, therefore, became the outstanding Philippine measure before the Seventy-first Congress since its provisions for independence automatically dealt with the tariff and immigration problems. (See Foreword.)

## Digest of Hawes-Cutting Bill, S. 3822

**I**N A general way, S. 3822 may be said to contain four major purposes, as follows:

1. To provide for the drafting of a constitution for a free and independent government of the Philippine Islands;
2. To provide for a ratification by the Philippine people of the constitution so formulated, and the election of governmental officials under the new constitution;
3. To provide a 5-year period of test for the gradual change in the economic and political relationship between the islands and the United States, thus giving the Philippine people an actual experience of such relationship, and an opportunity, following such experience, to decide at a plebiscite whether they approve or disapprove of separation from the United States;
4. To provide, in the event of an affirmative vote in the plebiscite, for the final withdrawal of American sovereignty over the islands, with such agreements by treaty or otherwise as may be necessary for the protection of American rights and properties in the Philippines, the

liquidation of the public debt of the Philippines, and the retention by the United States of sites for coaling or naval bases as the United States may deem advisable.

During the "test" period and under the constitution to be adopted by the Philippine people for this period, the United States, in pursuance of the terms of the bill reported, remains in complete supervision and control of every step taken by the Philippine people toward Philippine independence, and is not to relinquish the islands finally until the provisions of the bill shall have been satisfactorily complied with and until the Congress of the United States shall have approved both the constitution to be framed by the Filipinos and every other step in their progress toward competence as a self-governing people.

In detail, the bill (S. 3822) provides as follows:

1. That the Philippine Legislature shall elect delegates to a constitutional convention for the purpose of drafting a constitution for a free and independent government, the expenses of such convention to be provided for by the Philippine Legislature;
2. That the constitution so formulated shall provide for a government republican in form and adequate to secure a stable, orderly, and free government;
3. That the constitution so formulated shall, pending the final and complete withdrawal of United States sovereignty, provide among other things as follows:
  - a. Citizens and officers of the Philippine Islands shall take the oath of allegiance to the United States;
  - b. Religious freedom and tolerance shall be secured and all citizens protected in their religious worship;
  - c. Property owned by the United States, and cemeteries, churches, parsonages, convents, and buildings used for religious, charitable, or educational purposes shall be exempt from taxation;
  - d. Foreign affairs of the islands shall be under the supervision of the United States;
  - e. All acts of the Philippine Legislature shall be reported to the Congress of the United States, which shall have the right to annul such acts;
  - f. The United States may intervene for the preservation of the government of the islands;
  - g. The Philippine government shall maintain public schools in which the language of instruction shall be English, and an adequate system of sanitation for the protection of public health;



h. No revenue shall be used for sectarian or denominational purposes;

i. The authority of the High Commissioner of the United States to the Philippine Islands shall be fully recognized and accepted;

4. That after the adoption by the convention of the constitution so formulated, the constitution shall be submitted to the people of the Philippine Islands at an election and they shall vote directly to accept or reject it;

5. That the constitution so adopted and approved shall be submitted to the Congress of the United States for approval or rejection;

6. That if approved by the Congress, the President of the United States shall certify this fact to the Governor General of the Philippines who shall issue a proclamation for the election of Philippine officials to assume and administer the new government;

7. That the new government having been thus formed and installed, trade relations between the United States and the Philippines shall be, during the 5-year period, upon the following basis:

a. During the first year, trade relations shall be as at present;

b. During the second year, 25 per cent of existing duties shall be levied upon all articles imported into the United States from the Philippines, and on all articles imported into the islands from the United States;

c. During the third year, 50 per cent of such duties shall be levied;

d. During the fourth year, 75 per cent of such duties shall be levied;

e. During the fifth year, full duty shall be levied upon imports to both countries in the same manner as on all foreign imports.

Should the Philippine people fail to ratify the proposal for independence in the plebiscite, the bill provides that tariff relations between the islands and the United States shall be restored to the basis in effect at the time of the passage of S. 3822.

8. Within the first six months of the fifth year after the adoption and approval of the constitution, and the election of officials under it, the intervening period being the "test" period under the new trade relationships, the Philippine people shall vote on the question of ratifying or rejecting the granting of Philippine independence by the United States, and if in this vote they do so ratify independence, this fact shall be certified to by the President of the United States, who shall issue a proclamation withdrawing, at the end of the 5-year period, the sovereignty of the U. S. over the Philippines, transferring to the duly elected officials the government of the islands.

9. Before the withdrawal of sovereignty, the government of the islands shall make provision for the acquisition by purchase or lease by the United States in the islands of adequate naval bases, shall provide by treaty or otherwise for the protection of property rights of Americans and the United States in Philippines, and shall, on terms acceptable to the United States, provide for the disposition of all fiscal matters and the settlement of all debts and liabilities.—*Extracts, see 1, p. 160.*

## Present Law Governing Philippines

*Continued from page 137*

toward complete self-government under a governmental system in which it had had no previous experience. It should be noted clearly, however, that ultimate executive, legislative and judicial control and direction have been and are American, although the governmental personnel operating under that direction consists almost exclusively of Filipinos.—*Extracts, see 6, p. 160.*

### The Resident Commissioners

THE Philippines have two resident commissioners in Washington who sit in the United States House of Representatives, where they are privileged to address the House but are not privileged to vote. The two Philippine commissioners at present are Pedro Guevara and Camilo Osias.

### Bureau of Insular Affairs

TO the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the U. S. Department of War, under the immediate direction of the Sec-

retary of War, are assigned all matters pertaining to civil government in the island possessions of the United States subject to the jurisdiction of the War Department, the Philippines and Porto Rico being the ones so subject at the present time.

*Chief:* Brig. Gen. Francis Le Jau Parker.

*Assistants to Chief of Bureau:* Lieut. Col. Creed F. Cox,

Lieut. Col. Walter C. Short, Maj. D. M. Ashbridge.

### Heads of Philippine Government

*Governor General:* Dwight F. Davis.

*Vice-Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction:* Dr. George C. Butte.

*Secretary of the Interior:* Honorio Ventura.

*Secretary of Finance:* Miquel Unson.

*Secretary of Justice:* José Abad Santos.

*Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources:* Raphael Alunan.

*Secretary of Commerce and Communications:* Filemon E. Perez.

## Senate Committee Divided

**A** MAJORITY of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs reports favorably S. 3822, "A bill to provide for the withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands and for the recognition of their independence, etc."

It is significant that, without exception, every witness of the many who appeared at the committee hearings admitted that the present situation of uncertainty as to the political future of the Philippines should be removed.

It appears from our inquiry and study that the uncertainty can be removed only if and when Congress shall adopt one of the following courses:

1. Granting immediate independence.
2. Setting a date in the distant future when independence shall be granted.
3. Creating what might be termed a colonial form of government for the future retention of the Philippines.
4. Incorporating the Philippines as one or more States of the American Union.
5. Providing, as in this bill (S. 3822), for the organization of a free government and permitting the Philippine people to determine whether under the new conditions they desire to become independent, and grant them independence.

The majority of this committee finds the only possible solution of the problem to be in a proposal to make possible the formation of a free government in the Philippines, to permit the Philippine people to weigh the experiences of their new status, and finally to allow them to express their views as to independence on the basis of their experience.

The "acid test" provided in this bill (S. 3822) is the hardest ever given a nation seeking independence. We submit for your serious consideration this salient fact, that in the election at which they shall decide whether or not they shall be independent the Philippine people will be called upon to say whether they shall sever their connection with the United States at the very hardest period of their reconstruction problems, after having been subjected to the weight of our trade barriers and to the full effect of the constitutional provisions which we impose upon them in the formation of their new government.

It is insinuated that the Philippine people do not actually desire independence and that their leaders do not really favor it, and yet, in reply to this propaganda, there comes from the entire press of the Philippines, from all classes of its population, from its school children and its public officials, from the representatives of its political parties, majority and minority, a demand for independence.

It is idle to assume that the interests of manufacturers

### Majority Report

and others have no bearing upon this issue. But the committee, having obtained all the facts in relation to our trade with the Philippines, finds in this information a powerful argument for some immediate disposition of the Philippine question. The growing free exchange of products between the islands and the United States, if permitted to go on at the present rate of increase, will tend to develop a commercial relationship strong enough later to submerge every other consideration in the problem of Philippine independence.

When we took over the Philippines in 1898, the islands sent most of their exports (more than one-half) to Europe. In 1927 more than 74 per cent of Philippine exports came into the United States; 62 per cent of all foreign products consumed in the Philippines are received from the United States. The tariff wall surrounding the Philippines protects American products and manufacturers against all competition.

In 1928 about 69 per cent of the foreign trade of the islands was with the United States. The conclusion to be drawn is that the whole problem must be settled as quickly as its importance permits, and this growing relationship between Americans and Filipinos be given a permanent foundation.

The Philippines maintain that the disruption of present relationships now will subject them to hardships which they can more readily endure at present than at some future date when their economic dependency will be greater.

The American farmer has an interest in the disposition of this important question.

Eighty per cent of the imports of products from the Philippine Islands into the United States today consists of farm products, while only 20 per cent of the exports of the United States to the Philippines is farm products. Since perhaps not more than one-seventh of the area of the Philippines is developed today, these figures give some idea of the extent to which the farmer in America has an interest in the competition from Philippine products.

Representatives of labor called to our attention the matter of Philippine immigration, pointing out that our exclusion laws against certain oriental nations do not apply to the Philippines, and that already there have been disturbances in the United States due to the growing number of Philippine laborers whose hire can be obtained at prices far below the standard wages of American workmen and women.

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## on Philippine Independence

### Minority Report

**T**HE undersigned members of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, dissenting from the action of the majority in approving the bill (S. 3822) providing for the withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands, and for the recognition of their independence, etc., submit the following minority report:

Careful consideration of the bill and the evidence bearing on the general subject of Philippine independence lead the dissenting members to the conclusion that the 5-year period provided for in the measure as an interval for readjustment to changed economic conditions before proceeding to the proposed Filipino plebiscite on the subject of complete independence is far too brief a time, and, in fact is tantamount to a proposal for immediate independence.

For immediate or early independence we are convinced the Filipinos are not yet prepared. To grant it we believe would very seriously jeopardize their welfare and bring to naught many of the steps already taken for their advancement and prosperity during a generation of our beneficent guardianship.

Certain fundamental considerations are herewith outlined as leading up to the conviction that no proposition for immediate independence, or for independence as provided for in this bill, could be beneficial to the Philippines.

Arguments against the pending plan may be briefly summed up under the following principal heads:

1. Immediate, or early, independence would be disastrous to the Filipinos themselves.
2. It would be harmful to the interests of the United States, both in the Philippines and in the Far East.
3. It would inevitably create an unsettled condition in the Far East in connection with the present stabilization of affairs in the different countries having interests in the Far East and exercising sovereignty there.

It is the conviction of the members who present this minority report that the people of the Philippines are today unprepared for independence, and that hence to grant it would not be doing them a kindness but rather would be doing them an injury, and would be a breach of the trust vested in our Government as their guardian.

On this point Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, at the hearing in which he testified before the committee on May 2, 1930, was emphatic. "The separation of the Philippine Islands," he said, "from all leadership or con-

trol by the American Government would destroy self-government in the Philippines, and the result would be either a condition of anarchy, or a condition of oligarchy in which a comparatively small class of Filipinos—money-lenders and local politicians—would exercise arbitrary power over the ordinary rights of the individuals, the small men of the Islands," subjecting them to financial tyranny from the one class and to political tyranny from the other. This is not a pleasant picture, but we believe it to be true. To build up sufficient resistance to these influences would take far longer than the readjustment period provided for in the bill under consideration.

Further, the granting of independence at this time, or within such a brief period as 5 or 10 years, would, we believe, result in the economic control of the population of the islands by an alien race, the Chinese, who now control the retail trade of the large cities and the markets of the small Filipino producers in the Provinces. The Filipinos will not, in our opinion, be in a position to stand alone economically until they have developed sufficient revenue not only to take the place of the external functions which the United States Government now performs for them, such as pertain to their protection, their diplomatic relations, etc., but also the revenue necessary for advancing them further in those steps of internal development so essential to their progress, such as education, sanitation, etc.

In order to reach this stage of development, the Filipinos must have the benefit of capital from outside the islands, and that capital can not be obtained unless it can be assured of political stability for a sufficiently long period in which to amortize itself, or, in other words, time enough for investors to get their money back before any change in sovereignty takes place.

Herein, we believe, lies one of the chief defects of this bill. The minimum period in which amortization of investments can be reasonably hoped for is 30 years. The five years provided for in the pending bill fails to give the Filipinos sufficient time to prepare themselves for economic freedom. We believe it would cause great suffering and is practically no better than immediate independence in the measure of the disaster it would bring down upon the heads of the Filipino people.

The Wood-Forbes special mission, at President Harding's direction, made a careful study of conditions in the Philippine Islands in 1921—and these conditions have not materially altered since then save as our trusteeship has exercised a beneficial effect upon the slow economic growth of the Filipinos.

Another element in the Philippine problem which touches closely the question of whether or not the Filipinos are capable of governing themselves concerns the relations

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## Majority Report, Cont'd from p. 140

Congress has demonstrated that it will not subject the 13,000,000 Filipinos to the rigors of our exclusion act, to our trade barriers, or to other handicaps placed upon the foreigner while these people are held within the jurisdiction and under the protection of American sovereignty.

While the interests of the American farmer, of the worker, and of the manufacturer should be protected, this protection should come from a constructive settlement of the whole problem and not through piecemeal legislation.

Are the Filipinos ready for self-government; can they maintain a stable self-government?

The Philippine people elect the bicameral body which enacts the domestic laws for the Philippine people.

There are only three high executive officials in the Philippine Islands who are not Filipinos. Of the high judicial officials (nine in all) the chief justice and three of the associate justices are Filipinos.

The governors and members of the provincial boards of the 39 regularly organized Provinces, and all members of the legislature from these Provinces, are Filipinos elected by the people. In the nine specially organized Provinces 6 governors are Filipinos and 3 Americans.

From the beginning of American occupation the 900 municipal governments of the islands have been administered practically exclusively by elected Filipinos. There were on December 31, 1928, only 494 Americans in the civil personnel of the Philippine government, while 19,606 Filipinos were permanently employed under the civil service. Of the 494 Americans, 293 were in the teaching service.

At the last election more than 1,000,000 Filipinos voted, notwithstanding each voter is required under the Philippine laws to possess certain electoral qualifications. From 80 to 95 per cent of the registered voters actually vote.

The Philippine government which has been self-supporting since the establishment of civil government in the islands, has been and is in a sound financial condition. Its income is in excess of its expenditures for the present necessary activities of the island government.

Joined with the argument that there is some doubt as to the ability of the Filipinos to manage their own affairs is the frequently asserted statement that there exists a diversity of tribal interests, antagonisms, and prejudices which would militate against the maintenance of a stable government. The facts as given to the committee do not bear out the statement. While there are many dialects in the Philippines, just as there are in all oriental countries, there are but three basic dialects. Moreover, as the result of the teaching of English in the islands for more than 30 years, a great number of the Filipinos, regardless of their groups or their dialects, speak the English language.

In one of the Latin American States of South America nearly 100 dialects are spoken; in Mexico there are estimated 59 dialects, and it is hardly necessary in order to negative the contention that language differences are a bar to independence to indicate the numberless dialects of China, which have persisted for thousands of years.

By itself the mere differences in language would hardly be a bar to national aspirations for independence. In 1930, according to the budget figures, 28 per cent of the total Philippine revenues was set aside for education. This report has accepted the percentage of literacy in the

Philippines as 40 per cent in order to make its comparison conservative. The Philippine representatives claim more than 60 per cent of literacy. So long as the United States exercises the supervision, control, and authority over the affairs of the Philippine Government under the present organic act, a categorical decision as to the Filipino people's capacity or incapacity for independent government can not be made.

Under the provisions of this bill the United States is to furnish the machinery for the setting up of a government and the application of certain conditions precedent to independence which will give the Philippine people the test desired without relinquishing at once the sovereignty of the United States over the islands. The valuable experience acquired by the Filipinos under their present government should fully capacitate them to discharge the functions which will devolve upon them under the new government provided for in this bill.

No fundamental reason is found for refusing independence to the Filipino people because of correlated oriental problems. To attempt to fortify the Philippines for defense, if we hold them for the future, would require a change in the treaty which now regulates our military and naval operations in the Pacific. There is serious doubt as to their use to us in the event of armed conflict.

The 3-party treaty with Japan was a far-reaching decision and leaves the Philippine Islands, so far as the Army and Navy of the United States are concerned, in an unprotected condition which can not be changed while this treaty remains in effect. It is asserted that the granting of independence to the Philippines will stimulate a desire for independence on the part of these other dependencies. To give weight to such a theory would be to recognize an unsound philosophy or policy repugnant to the very best traditions of our Nation. We are proud that our experiment in self-government has been imitated by all the nations in South America and by many of the nations of Europe. We are told that our retention of the Philippine Islands has a beneficial effect on our intercourse and trade with the Orient. But there is no evidence to conclude that a continuation of our sovereignty over the Islands will be conducive to oriental friendship.

The treaties and laws incident to our occupation of the Philippines did not provide for the ultimate freedom of the Philippines. But the preamble of the Jones Act passed by Congress is a specific pledge that we are preparing the Philippines for independence. In addition to this act, Presidents Taft, Roosevelt, and Wilson at various times made statements indicating a similar policy.

If there be any doubt left that the ultimate purpose of the United States in its legislation with respect to the islands has been to prepare them for independence, it should be removed by the fact that in the 30 years in which we have held the Philippines we have not attempted to incorporate them. The plain implication is that our tenure of the Philippines is temporary in character.

There would be, in the event of our withdrawal, certain increases in the cost of government to the Philippine Islands. For instance, the cost of consular service and maintenance of diplomatic machinery, the cost of coast and geodetic survey and perhaps an increase in the cost of maintaining insular police. The application of our trade barriers would result in some diminution of income to the Philippines, but such diminution would largely depend upon the methods pursued by the Filipino govern-

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## Minority Report, Cont'd from p. 141

between the Filipinos and the Moros, the latter a brave and warlike people inhabiting Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. There is abundant evidence that the Moros, differing in religion and other respects from the Filipinos, would never consent without a struggle to being governed by the Filipinos. Most of the Moros desire to remain under our flag. As long as they are controlled by American influence, they are fairly peaceable and tractable, but the moment that control is vested in their hereditary enemies, opposition to the point of actual warfare on the part of the Moros is forecast by those best informed on the subject. Furthermore we virtually promised the Moros we would protect them with our armed forces if they gave us their arms. They did so. We must not lightly cast aside our responsibility to them.

Our withdrawal from the Philippine Islands prior to such a time as the Filipino masses have been given in the language of the late Chief Justice Taft when he was Secretary of War, "sufficient education to know their civil rights and maintain them against a more powerful class and safely to exercise the political franchise," would not only spell disaster to these people themselves, but would also jeopardize American interests in the islands and in the Far East and would tend to create a state of unsettlement in the far eastern status quo.

As a close student of conditions in the Philippines, bringing to their problems a sympathetic interest gratefully recognized by the Filipinos themselves, and as a keen observer of the trend of international affairs, Secretary Stimson is entitled to speak with exceptional authority on these points. The Secretary's observations have led him to the belief that America's influence in the Orient today, exercised through its work in the Philippines as a government, is more important in its effect upon the surrounding group of nations, aggregating in population more than 450,000,000 than all the millions of money expended and the tremendous and devoted efforts of missionaries and others through the entire East.

The Secretary gave it as his opinion, further, that if our progressive experiment with the Philippines, which has been going on for 30 years, were to be interrupted without the expiration of sufficient time before our withdrawal—period of not less than 30 years—the result would inevitably be disastrous; that the protection of the Philippines is not the slender force of soldiers or the fortifications which the United States keeps on the islands, but the fact that they are connected with the immense power of the United States, and that if our influence in the Philippines were withdrawn a void would be created proportionate in size to that influence, which might readily upset the balance of far eastern relations to such an extent as to cause other governments to intervene.

Still another argument against immediate or proximate independence for the islands is embodied in the situation respecting the very considerable debt incurred by the Philippine government. Philippine bonds have been floated on the credit not of that government but on the credit of the United States, and on the belief of the purchasers that the United States is standing behind the Philippine government in issuing them. True, the pending bill contains a provision that if the new Philippine government fails to meet such obligations, the customs receipts may be taken over to secure payment, but this provision might entail us in acts easily to be construed as unfriendly.

It is not believed by those subscribing to this report that the tariff changes proposed in this bill would make for economic stability. Within six years under the proposed sliding scale of progressive duties which the bill would impose during the period of readjustment, Filipino industry, now reasonably prosperous under free trade with the United States, would be required to stand alone unprotected and unprivileged in so far as its exports to its principal market are concerned. The Filipino laborer would then have to compete with Chinese coolies. Furthermore, such annual tariff changes as the bill stipulates until the complete tariff barrier were erected and full tariff autonomy were established would operate to keep the tariff situation in a continual state of flux and readjustment, and would be the very antithesis of that economic tranquillity and stability so essential to the healthy development of industry. There is no question but that it would cause great suffering among the masses of the Filipino people.

It is beside the mark to argue that the Filipinos, or their spokesmen here in this country, should be taken at their word and given that for which they are clamoring, namely, immediate independence. Action to that end would mean an abandonment and a repudiation of our obligations as guardian of these people. The members of the Filipino mission who are here endeavoring to speed the enactment of this legislation are frank enough to acknowledge that independence would be fraught with grave difficulties. "There is no one in the Philippines," admitted Speaker Manuel Roxas, of the Philippine House of Representatives, to the committee, "who does not believe that a sudden disruption of our economic relations would produce serious embarrassment to our economic system," but Mr. Roxas and his colleagues here are willing to take that chance.

The signers of this minority report, however, are not prepared to place in grave jeopardy the well-being and economic and political prosperity of 13,000,000 people who have been wards of the United States for a generation and for whom we have undertaken an altruistic experiment which is as yet but half accomplished.—*Ext.*, see 2, p. 160.

## Majority Report, Cont'd from p. 142

ment in the development of markets elsewhere than in the United States. The testimony indicates that the Philippine leaders have weighed in dollars and cents each of the costs of independence. The significant and logical argument with which they reply, however, is that the future will not relieve them of this responsibility of reconstruction but will, on the contrary, aggravate the difficulties of reconstruction. The Filipinos feel that in all financing, if the relationship of the islands with the United States is friendly, the handicaps will be largely diminished.

Another handicap to Philippine stability is presented in the fear that there may be in the Orient certain overcrowded nations who would populate the sparsely settled rich territory of the Philippines with an influx of alien population. The bill contemplates adequate provision for writing into the laws of the Philippines their own immigration laws to protect them from such invasion.—*Extracts*, see 1, p. 160.

# Should Early Independence

**T**HE American must keep constantly in mind that we have promised these people their independence. Within the last year they have sent a delegation of Philippine representatives to the Congress of the United States seeking the independence which we promised them. Through a presentation of the facts they assert their right to that independence on the basis of the provisions of the Jones Act. They insist they are ready for independence.

Matters, other than the presence of the Philippine delegation, have brought the Philippines into the immediate consideration of Congress.

The first is the plea of the American farmer that the raw products of the Philippines are being sent into the United States to compete with the products of the American farm. The farmer points out that he is already coming into new competition by the opening up of our own western country, through great irrigation and dam projects, and that it is unfair to him for the American Government to permit the raw products of the Philippines to come into this country free from the tariff barriers applicable to all the other nations of the world. Eighty per cent of all Philippine imports to the United States are agricultural products.

The farmer is advised to curtail production, to reduce planting, and yet is threatened with permanent agricultural competition, 7,000 miles from the American shore, of 114,000 square miles of agricultural land.

Then comes the plea of the American Federation of Labor in the name of the working men and women of the United States. They say that it is unfair for the Government of the United States to permit cheap Philippine labor to come into the United States from these far-off islands to break down the American wage scale. They point to recent racial disturbances on the Pacific coast showing that this influx of Philippine labor is presenting a very serious problem.

Certain manufacturers then called the attention of Congress to the fact that the Philippines are beginning to make certain products out of the abundant raw materials of the islands and are sending these manufactured products into the United States to compete unfairly with American-made products.

Thus the farmer and manufacturer ask that Philippine products be placed under our tariff laws, and the American Federation of Labor asks Congress to exclude the Philippine people from our shores, just as we do other orientals.

But there seems to be a distinct feeling in Congress that it would be manifestly unfair for the American Government either to place the ban of exclusion on a people who are still under our flag, or to restrict the products of a people by tariff barriers, when one of the purposes of our occupation of the Philippines is to assist these people to develop their resources.

No nation in the world, including England, France, and Holland, has ever attempted to exclude their own colonials

◀ PRO

by Senator Hawes

from the home country. The application of tariff barriers would seem to be equally unfair.

Congress, refusing to act in a piecemeal manner on any of the pleas made to it by these essential elements in our American life, is confronted with the problem of the future of the Philippines.

Everyone who knows anything of the Philippine problem at all admits that, as the result of our presence in the islands without a fixed policy for the future, a great uncertainty exists which is bad for the Philippines and harmful to American interests.

Not knowing what the future is to be, new American capital will not enter the islands to develop them; foreign capital will not enter the islands at all.

The Philippine people have been taught to believe they will be given independence. An entire generation has grown up with this promise constantly before it. It is part of the national aspirations of these people. The demand for independence comes from every walk of life in the Philippine Islands—its bankers, its industrialists, its governmental officials, its educators. In fact, every element of Philippine life, from the veteran Aguinaldo down to the 1,110,000 children in the Philippine schools, unite without a dissenting voice in a demand for independence.

And yet we have today no definite plan for the future. In the face of our lack of definite policy on the one hand, and our promise on the other, the uncertainty that has arisen is tending to breed trouble for both the Filipino and the American interested in the Philippines.

We have reached a point where we must redeem our promises, or, at least, remove the uncertainty.

It would seem that the only solution of our problem in the Philippines is to set a time for their independence at some early date; direct the character of government we desire them to put in operation; supervise the framing of a constitution for them, give them a "test period" of, say, five years in which to try out the burdens of new relationship, such as graduated tariff barriers, and, at the end of that 5-year period, provide for them to hold a plebiscite to determine at the polls whether, having felt the full harmful effects of separation from us, they desire to go on as independent people.

If they do so decide after this "acid test" period, then we should grant them their complete sovereignty in keeping with the pledges and promises we have made to them.

The Orient as a whole is watching the United States in its relation to the Philippines. There are those who argue that the Philippines offer to us an excellent trade advantage in the Orient. It is doubtful, however, whether

*Continued on page 146*

# Be Granted Philippines?

→ CON →

by Senator Bingham

**I**N addition to providing for the drafting and ratification of a constitution for an independent government of the Philippine Islands, the pending legislation sets up machinery for the operation of a five-year test period, establishing a gradual change in the economic and political relationship between the islands and the United States through a sliding scale of tariff adjustments. It proposes to reach the stage of complete Philippine tariff autonomy at the end of the period. Then there is to follow a plebiscite on the part of the Filipinos to decide whether they approve of complete economic and political separation from the United States.

That the granting of independence at the present time or in the near future would be to the distinct advantage of our commercial competitors is pointed out by Hon. Daniel R. Williams of San Francisco, formerly a judge in the Philippines and a man who has given profound study to the question. As Judge Williams says:

"The Philippines offer to the United States a domestic and controlled source of supply for essential tropical food products and raw materials for which we are becoming increasingly dependent upon the needs, the jealousies and the 'controls' of competitor countries. They also afford an ever-increasing market for American farm products and manufactured goods, and occupy a strategic position in the titanic struggle now shaping for commercial supremacy in the awakening Orient. A surrender of these advantages and opportunities would be to play directly into the hands of our trade rivals, which action, far from profiting the Filipinos—whose welfare we pretend to serve—would bring misgovernment, privation and suffering upon them, and likely result in their eventual obliteration as a race."

Another argument against immediate or early independence for the islands is embodied in the situation respecting the very considerable debt incurred by the Philippine government. Philippine bonds have been floated on the credit, not of that government, but on the credit of the United States, and on the belief of the purchasers that the United States is standing behind the Philippine government in issuing them. True, if the new Philippine government failed to meet such obligations, the customs receipts might be taken over to secure payment, but this provision might entail us in acts easily to be construed as unfriendly.

Any consideration of the interests of the United States in the Philippines must take into account the question of our influence in the Orient. Our withdrawal from the Philippine Islands prior to such a time as the Filipino masses have been given, in the language of the late Chief Justice Taft, when he was Secretary of War, "sufficient education to know their civil rights and maintain them against a more powerful class and safely to exercise the political franchise," would, besides jeopardizing our in-

terests in the islands, tend to create a state of unsettlement in the Far Eastern status quo.

It is important to remember that even the advocates of independence admit that its granting would be fraught with grave difficulties of an economic nature. "There is no one in the Philippines," said Speaker Manuel Roxas of the Philippine House of Representatives, "who does not believe that a sudden disruption of our economic relations would produce serious embarrassment to our economic system." And another champion of independence, writing from Manila, says:

"The phenomenal economic progress of the Philippines has been so based upon and bound up with free trade with America that if immediate independence should substitute for free trade hostile tariff barriers against them it would undoubtedly prove for the Philippines an economic catastrophe of the first magnitude. It would probably mean the temporary collapse of their artificially stimulated sugar industry, the failure of their national bank, which is bound up with sugar and is the depository of government securities; an immediate depression in trade, a serious reduction of income, accompanied by a heavy increase of taxation, and a lowering of the whole standard of living of the people, whose average per capita income is now only \$35 a year."

Truly this is a gloomy and most forbidding picture. And does any one seriously contend that these calamities could be avoided by a brief five-year period of attempted economic adjustment—a quasi "trial independence"?

It is my own conviction, based upon personal observation of the Filipinos and upon the evidence of well informed officials and others who have spent years in the study of this question, that the people of the Philippines are today totally unprepared for independence.

The Filipinos will not be in a position to stand alone economically until they have developed sufficient revenue not only to take the place of the external functions which the United States Government now perform for them, such as pertain to their protection, their diplomatic relations, etc., but also the revenue necessary for advancing them farther in those steps of internal development so essential to their progress, such as education, sanitation, etc.

In order to reach this stage of development, the Filipinos must have the benefit of capital from outside the islands, and that capital cannot be obtained unless it can be assured of a sufficiently long period in which to amortize itself, or, in other words, time enough for investors to get their money back before any change in sovereignty takes place.

The minimum period in which such amortization of investments could be reasonably hoped for is 30 years. Hence the five years provided for would fail to give the Filipinos sufficient time to prepare themselves for economic freedom. Herein, it is believed, lies one of the chief de-

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### Hawes Cont'd

our continued presence in the Orient through our possession of the Philippines will be advantageous to us.

Our work in the Philippines has been accepted by the Orient as a valuable contribution to the benefit of those people, but we have told the world in our legislative acts that all of these activities are in preparation for the independence of the islands. There is grave doubt, if we now abandon this policy and announce our intention to remain in the Philippines, whether our presence in the Orient will be of advantage to us in the future. It may prove to be a distinct disadvantage, as our treatment of the Philippines will be the measure by which the oriental will weigh our international honesty.—*Extracts, see 8, p. 160.*

### by Commissioner Osias

**I** THINK that both sides are agreed that some definite action needs to be taken—and immediately—for the good both of American interests and of Philippine interests, because the present situation is clearly anomalous and unsatisfactory.

The main question now hinges on the matter of the time when independence should be granted. The position of the Filipino people and their spokesmen is clear and definite. We wish Philippine independence, immediate, absolute and complete, and we understand English when we utter those words. I say this in answer to those who have insinuated that we do not seem to know what independence means.

We know what it means to be free and independent; and knowing that freedom may entail loss of property and even loss of life, which is more important than property, we still sincerely ask for the freedom of our country.

We have well-nigh unlimited resources. Our national wealth is sufficient to maintain us as a people free and independent.

The latest estimate shows that our national wealth today is nearly 6,000,000,000 pesos, which is more than it was in 1923 and more than it was in 1918. That national wealth is not going to decrease with the grant of freedom and independence.

I have before me an encouraging statement of an American statesman, Gouverneur Morris. He said: "At the time when our (American) Government was organized we were without funds, though not without resources."

So, economically speaking, we can say to you that when we shall be granted our independence, we, the people of the Philippine Islands, will be with funds and with resources to organize and maintain a free and independent government.

We of the Philippines hold to the conviction that America did not become free because she was rich. America became rich because she is free.

It has been contended that the grant of Philippine independence would disturb the balance of power in the Orient. We contend that such is not necessarily the re-

sult of America's action in granting us the independence which she has pledged.

In fact, it seems to me, the present unsatisfactory situation in the Philippines rather argues for the immediate grant of independence, because a further continuation of America's rule in the Philippine Islands will only submit the people of this country unduly, and unfairly, to more suspicion, distrust, and doubt as to the validity of her people's devotion to the ideals and principles which made America the great, the powerful, and the influential country that she is in world affairs today.

It has been contended that independence should not be granted now to the Philippines because it would result in the agitation of independence on the part of other dependent countries.

From this contention we see that those who are opposing immediate independence are unwittingly placing themselves on record as indefinite retentionists. Why do I say this? Because this same allegation can be made 2 years, 5 years, 30 years, 300 years from now. The answer is that there is greater truth in saying that the independence of the Philippines should be granted to remove the possibility of its becoming an apple of discord and thus insure the permanence of peace and the balance of power in the Orient.

Then every one knows that the demand for independence is being made right now in other dependencies. The continuance of the rule of one nation over another does not stop agitation for freedom. Rather it fosters it. Besides, why should America be deterred from doing that which is clearly just and right merely because other powers are more addicted to colonial imperialism than the United States?

Much ado has been made by those opposed to immediate independence of the alleged menace to us. The Filipinos have weighed the effects of their determination to lead a free national existence. We are ready and willing to face the risks involved. Little or no change in the question of our safety or unsafety will be brought about by freedom.

The world is becoming peace-minded. The United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan agreed in December, 1921, to maintain the status quo with regard to fortifications and naval bases in their insular possessions on the Pacific. An analysis of the treaty to which these four powers are signatories clearly shows that the spirit behind it is that of peace. This agreement was reached "with a view to the preservation of the general peace and the maintenance of their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean." I think I am right in saying that danger will be rather remote when we are independent. I am convinced also that the moral influence of America will not lessen when it grants Philippine independence. On the contrary, I think she will rise in power and in strength and in prestige in the eyes of the people, not only of the Orient, but of the world.

When we shall have been made independent, we know the countries that will be of most vital influence in the affairs of the Orient, besides the United States. They will be Japan, England, and France. These nations are members of the League of Nations. They have sub-

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# Bingham Cont'd

fects of the pending legislative independence proposition. It is practically no better than immediate independence in the sense of the disaster it would bring down upon the heads of the Filipinos.

In view of our solemn obligations to the Filipinos, in view of the trust reposed in us as their mentor, in view of our example to the other nations of the world who are on the international side lines watching as keen observers our altruistic experiment in guardianship, are we justified in lightly casting aside our duty and our responsibility toward these far-flung isles of the Pacific when by so doing we shall place in grave peril the well-being and economic and political prosperity of 13,000,000 people?

Personally I can conceive of but one answer. That answer is "No!"

On the other hand, we ought gradually to grant them more self-government. I would be in favor of their becoming an organized territory, like Alaska or Hawaii. It should be our aim not to avoid our responsibility by giving independence to the Filipinos but to develop them as self-reliant citizens under the American flag.—*Extracts, see 9, p. 160.*

## by Secretary Stimson

**I** AM opposed to the immediate independence of the Philippine Islands, on three grounds:

First, because I believe it would be disastrous to the Philippine people; second, because I believe it would be disastrous to the interests of the United States, both on the islands and in the Far East; and third, because I believe it would inevitably create a general unsettlement of affairs in the Far East, in connection with the present conditions in the different countries having interests in and exercising sovereignty there.

I believe the Philippine people are today quite unprepared for independence, either politically or economically.

I believe that political independence, in the sense of the separation of the Philippine Islands from all leadership or control by the American Government, would destroy self-government in the Philippines, and the result would be either a condition of anarchy or a condition of oligarchy, in which a comparatively small class of Filipinos would exercise arbitrary power over the ordinary rights of the individuals, the small men in the islands. And by the small group I refer to the money lenders and to the local politicians. One of the greatest efforts made now by the Government, and necessarily now by the Government, is to protect the small Filipino against financial tyranny from the one class and political tyranny from the other. In that sense and toward that end the effort of the American influence on the islands has been directed for the past 30 years.

I also believe that it would impair their self-government, because it would result in the control of the population of the islands by an alien race, the Chinese. At present the Chinese control the retail trade of the large cities; they control the market of the small Filipino producers in the

Provinces; and that condition is growing more and more every day. In my travels about the islands I used to ask a series of questions of the local people who were interested in producing and selling their products, and in far too numerous cases I found that the market for their products, the only sources of transportation, and therefore the control of the Filipino producer, was in the hands of middlemen who were of the other race.

My efforts as Governor General were directed toward the experiment of endeavoring to increase the general business and wealth of the islands, in order that we should be able to make the people better and more happily governed by having better sources for our revenues to be raised by taxation. That depended upon further development of the resources and trade of the islands, because the islands on their present resources are quite highly taxed.

The results of that investigation satisfied my mind and proved to me, after a long discussion, led in behalf of my proposition by the president of the Filipino Senate, Mr. Manuel Quezon, in a most courageous debate, that the Filipinos both need and desire the capital necessary to make their country more self-sustaining and their revenues greater.

They can not stand alone until the development of sufficient revenue to take over, not only the external functions that the United States now performs for them of protection of diplomatic relations, of the mapping and coast survey of the harbors, but also the revenue necessary for carrying them further along in those steps of internal development, such as education, particularly education, self-reliance, which will be sufficient to prevent the catastrophe of having a submergence, either by an outside race or by internal anarchy or oligarchy.

Now, that proposition is one of the keystones of this problem, because it is susceptible of mathematical demonstration. If I am right in my belief that the Filipinos need that development, if I am right in my belief that it is necessary to give them the economic power to stand alone, then you can calculate mathematically the minimum time within which they can get the capital necessary to make that development. In other words, they have not the capital themselves. That capital has got to come from abroad.

I am a firm believer in the land laws of the Philippine Islands, which are intended to develop a race of small agriculturists, independent farmers. I am not a believer in the development of large corporations which would hold the population as tenants. But it all requires capital, and the capital must be secured on proper terms. You can not get capital unless you assure capital a sufficiently long period in which it can amortize itself, so that the investor who puts his money into the islands will be sure that he will have time to get it out again. The minimum that should be allowed for that, even under the present conditions existing in the country, is in the neighborhood of 30 years. That marks the minimum time.

Immediate independence would be disastrous to the United States' interests, both on the islands and in the Far East. Our trans-Pacific trade, if I am not mistaken, quadrupled in less than 10 years after the close of the Great War, an infinitely greater rate of progress than had been made by our foreign trade across the Atlantic.

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## Osias Cont'd

scribed to the following covenant, which is article 10 of the League of Nations:

"The members of the league undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression, the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

We aspire to membership in the league when we shall be free and independent, and any country that has subscribed to this covenant should not be looked upon as a menace to our independent existence.

We shall find additional guaranties of Philippine independence in the existence of the World Court, the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand pacts, and the new international conscience that makes for permanent peace.

I would like to say a word about the objection based on defenses: Is invulnerability a condition precedent to the grant of freedom to a country? If we are required, before we are granted independence, to be able to repulse any and all invasions from the first-class powers, then I say that no country in the world should be independent except the United States, because there is practically no country, with the possible exception of America, which can defend itself against any and all foreign aggression.

And now I desire in conclusion to present in summarized form additional arguments why Philippine independence should be granted at the earliest possible date:

1. The immediate grant of Philippine independence would free the people of the islands from the benumbing effect of the present state of uncertainty.

2. Philippine independence will bring about greater economic stability eventually. Now capital is timid because of the present indefinite political status of our country.

3. An independent status would remove the constant dread in business circles from changes in tariff relations over which the Philippine people have no control.

4. The grant of Philippine freedom will remove the constant danger of having taxes unexpectedly imposed directly or indirectly upon Philippine products. Now it is possible for Philippine investors to suffer reverses overnight by a slight change in the tariff. Philippine industries, too, may be indirectly taxed as illustrated by the measure amending the oleomargarine act.

5. Independence will also do away with the fear of having the American coastwise shipping laws extended to the Philippines which may under the existing situation be accomplished by presidential proclamation. The Filipinos, not being eligible to American citizenship, would suffer greatly in their shipping and commerce should the coastwise shipping laws of the United States be made applicable to the Philippines.

6. The establishment of an independent Philippine government will place in the hands of the Filipinos the instruments of their economic salvation. Now the Filipino people have no control over matters affecting our tariff relations, our mines, our forests, and our public domain.

7. The early grant of freedom will hasten the development of greater economic mindedness among our people. The continuation of the present uncertainty and anomaly will tend to arrest the economic development of the Philippines.

8. The grant of independence will permit the Filipino people to adopt a constitution which will be better suited to their psychological and sociological nature.

9. The establishment of an independent government with a constitution of our own creation will make it possible for our people to develop a more unified and scientific Philippine legal system.

10. With independence, the Filipinos will develop greater responsibility in governmental matters. Full responsibility can be fostered only by our having complete authority.

11. From the standpoint of culture and education, independence is essential and necessary to enable the people of my country to shape an educational philosophy which is conducive to good, patriotic, and useful Philippine citizenship. Now we can not train our youth for American citizenship for we can not be citizens of this Republic, nor can we train them for true Philippine citizenship for we do not have a free self-governing country.

12. With independence we can redefine the aims and purposes of Philippine education so as to train Filipino boys and girls to become free, efficient, and happy citizens of a country truly free, prosperous, and democratic.

13. A free and independent existence will enable the Filipino people to achieve their highest development. It will furnish a new and permanent motive to our individual and social life.

14. Independence will usher us into the modern current of internationalism. Nationalism developed in the atmosphere of freedom is an essential prerequisite to sound internationalism. We, as a people, will, when free, be in a better position to cultivate our own talent and genius and contribute in full measure to the common heritage of the world.

15. Philippine independence will satisfy our individual desire and our national ambition, and will be a powerful incentive to our putting forth our best so as to merit a place in the family of free nations.

16. An independent Philippines will be a modern contribution to the new world-order based upon the enduring foundations of peace. With freedom, the Filipino people will be in a better position to exemplify the wisdom of peace and the criminality of war—peace as an attribute both human and divine, and war as a grievous wrong and an enormous crime. We shall also be better qualified to occupy our allotted place in the interknit mosaic of mankind.—*Extracts, see 5, p. 160.*

**by Mr. Bunuan**

**W**HEN America came to the Philippines, she found a people with a high degree of culture and civilization, united by the Christian religion, and possessed

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### Stimson Cont'd

I have been very greatly impressed, for example, by the change, the growth in the interest of America in that trade, which took place between the time when I was in the War Department, ending in 1913, and the time when I again took up an examination of the question, when I went to the Philippines in 1926. I was immensely impressed by the importance of that development. I was immensely impressed by the importance of the growth of the trade in China, and the trade with Japan, the interest of America in it, the number of American steamship lines that were in that trade. The point I am making can be summarized in this: A friendly Filipino people, whether they are governmentally connected with us or whether they are independent,—but have become independent upon a basis which is fair to them—would be of incalculable value to our interests in the Far East.

It is of vital importance to American interests in the Far East that there should be a friendly Filipino people, friendly to us, in relations of friendship and amity, whether governmental or not, at the gateway of the Orient. My predecessor as Governor General of the islands, Gen. Leonard Wood, used to speak of the Philippine Islands as "the spear point of Christianity in the Orient." By that he referred to the fact that there we have 12,000,000 people, 11,000,000 of whom are Christians, now engaged under our influence in the development of a western civilization and a democratic form of government. That is unique in the Orient. Around them is a group of nations, aggregating over 450,000,000, living their different religions, and brought up in an entirely different civilization.

When you have that situation, when you have a nation of that type at the gateway of the Orient, the effect upon the surrounding Orient of the treatment which we administer to them must be self-evident. If we treat them justly, as we are believed to have done in the past, the effect is good. If we treat them unjustly, the effect would be correspondingly bad.

Think of what might happen and probably would happen if the progressive experiment which has been going on for 30 years were interrupted without safeguards and by a sudden withdrawal of the American leadership and sovereignty. As I said, those islands are being developed. They are underpopulated. The population, as I remember the figures was approximately 90 per square mile, and on the neighboring mainland in China it was over 400 per square mile. There is being developed there, under the aegis of the United States, a Christian Malay civilization. The protection to that little group of people is not the slender force of soldiers or the fortifications that the United States keeps on the islands, but the fact that they are connected with the immense power of the United States over here, and the fact that any country knows that to get into a war with the United States means eventual disaster to any country that tries it. If our influence should be withdrawn, there would be a void created proportionate to the size of the influence that is withdrawn.

I do not mean to say that any of the surrounding countries, through their governments, have designs upon the Philippines. I want to be very careful that that is not inferred from what I am saying. I do not believe that there is any government around there—I emphasize the word "government"—that has in the back of its head any

designing proposition to go in and take the Philippines if we leave. But there would be created a situation which has existed in history many times, where an unbalance was created, where a void was created, and where trouble in great likelihood would come which might force the hands of some of the other governments to intervene. There have been times when just that has happened to such a country, which has been left without power and without balance, where the most powerful countries in the neighborhood have been compelled to step in, not altogether from their own wishes, but through the force of circumstances.

What I favor is a carrying out of our duty to the Philippines, which was, as I understand it, to fit them for a democratic self-government, up to the time when they are fit to stand on their own legs and be independent, if they want to; and if they then want to be independent, I should certainly not prevent them by force from being independent. When that time comes, I hope it will be the decision of the Philippine people, as well as the United States, that their interests, that the interests of both countries, would be better promoted by retaining a connection with each other, both economic and governmental, than it would be by separating. But that would be a decision which must be made freely by both countries in the light of intelligence and knowledge, and also of the assurance they would not come to grief when they do it, if they should choose to be independent. I feel if they should choose to be independent and come to grief, and it could be said it came from our turning them loose prematurely, they would blame us in a way from which we could never defend ourselves.—*Extracts, see 5, p. 160*

### by Secretary Hurley

**F**OUR principal courses of procedure appear to be now open as regards our national policy concerning the Philippine Islands, namely:

a. To continue in effect the present organic act without substantial modification of its basic provisions.

This does not mean that progress in self-government shall cease, but that it shall continue under provisions which now reflect the advantages of 14 years' experience of practical operation, which have been crystallized by interpretation in our highest court and which include, in general, reasonable balance between our responsibilities and our powers wherewith to meet them.

One apparently justified objection to this course may be raised, namely, that under the status quo, there is uncertainty as to the future, the result of which is seriously to retard the healthy development of the islands' business and political development.—That objection can, however, be at least partly met by a clarification of our national policy as regards the Philippine Islands, as hereinafter suggested.

b. To enact new legislation granting increased autonomy to the government of the Philippine Islands.

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## Bunuan Cont'd

with those finer elements of life which have made Christianity the greatest moving factor in the march of civilization; a people held compact by common grievances against Spain which resulted in common aspiration to free themselves from Spanish domination, and later, still made more compact by common resistance for a period of nearly three years against the United States.

For three hundred and fifty years, the civilization of our people has been Malayan and Latin with an admixture of the Chinese. From this meeting of these three mighty influences, there was forged a new type of people, unique in the Orient—a fertile field, as it were, for the cultivation of Anglo-Saxon democracy which this great Republic has sought to implant in our country.

Yet the Filipinos, as they are now, are a people without political identity. We do not know what we are—we are neither aliens nor citizens of the United States. In some parts of the United States, we cannot occupy certain positions because we cannot be members of the American Federation of Labor. In some states, we cannot own real estate property. Our Filipino boys are allowed to study at the Naval Academy, but when they graduate, they may not be commissioned in your Navy. And the unique situation arose, in which a Filipino graduate at Annapolis had to be commissioned as lieutenant of the United States Army, because he could not enter the Navy. Then only last year, an order was issued to the effect that future Filipino entrants at West Point may not be commissioned even in the Philippine Scouts of the United States Army.

Some American legal minds have defined our political status under the American flag as follows: "The Filipino people are foreign to the United States for domestic purposes, and domestic to the United States for foreign purposes." Their very definition of us, instead of clarifying our status, befogs it.

I wish to emphasize that the only solution to this whole question, the only way out of this tangle in which the Philippine question has become enmeshed, is to grant the Filipinos their independence. The best way for us, because it satisfies our natural and legitimate longing to be free and independent; the best for you, because it provides a way out of these dangers to your own interests without having to discriminate against us. And we believe that we are ready for independence.

America's task in the Philippines has been the implantation of democracy, alleged to be a purely occidental product, in a country of oriental location and origin. In this connection, you will agree with me that not all the things that are fit for the peoples of the West, because they are of the West, are proper for the peoples of the East, because they are of the East. The latter, therefore, should adopt only those elements, only those fundamental practices, only those basic principles which have made your democracy a success, and we should be permitted, through the granting of independence, to work out the details, to shape our destiny in accordance with the traditions and culture of our own race, with our environment, with our geography, with our psychology, with our philosophy.—*Extracts, see 11, p. 160.*

## by Commissioner Guevara

**W**E want to be independent because it is our firm and sincere conviction that it is the situation we most ardently desire. The economic interests of the United States and of the Philippine Islands are regarded by certain American elements as entirely in conflict, and sooner or later the American people will realize the fact that above all America must come first. The Philippines is only in the infancy of its economic development, and yet at present it is causing alarm to American farmers. What will happen if the Philippines reaches its full economic development, agriculturally and industrially, in competition with continental United States? We will witness the sad spectacle of mutual jealousies and discriminations between peoples living under the same flag. I can not believe that the Congress of the United States will ever undertake to pass any discriminatory legislation against the Philippine Islands while they are retained under the jurisdiction of the United States Government. There is no doubt either that the agitation by the American farmers will increase against the free importation of Philippine products into the United States, thus creating an anomalous economic situation in the Philippine Islands, hindering progress. Uncertainty is a detriment to investment and business. Until the political situation of the Philippine Islands is solved in a definite and permanent way, the altruistic plans of those who believe that the retention of the Philippine Islands by the United States will produce happiness to the inhabitants thereof, would be but a dream. I may safely assert that the present tariff agitation in the United States against the Philippine products has adversely affected business conditions in the Philippine Islands. I am certain that no true American will ever permit such a situation to prevail in a land which is, after all, under the American flag. The Filipino people want to leave the Government of the United States because they believe it is the only way the best interests of each country may be fully protected and served. We want to leave the Government of the United States not because of any grievance. On the contrary, we have time and again acknowledged the immense benefits received from this Government, but no one is supposed to expect us to surrender our natural ambitions for freedom and liberty. I wish it to be understood, however, that the aspiration of the Filipino people to be free and independent of the Government of the United States is not founded upon the idea that they are oppressed under it, notwithstanding the fact that whatever freedom or liberty they enjoy under her flag are but mere gracious concessions of the American people.

Time and again the theory has been affirmed directly or indirectly that the United States will not hold the Philippine Islands with responsibility but without authority. It is easy to understand the character of authority that the advocates of such a political theory want for the United States over the Philippines. It is not the authority known by the American people. It is an authority similar to that exerted by Spain over the Philippine Islands or by England over the thirteen American Colonies. It is an authority similar to that exercised by the western powers over conquered countries and peoples. But this kind of authority can not be accepted by the Filipino people, not only because it is repugnant to all principles of democracy and justice but because the American people themselves

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### Hurley Cont'd

The present limitations on Philippine autonomy are, as a rule, potential rather than initial. There exists ample opportunity for training in self-government together with reasonable supervisory powers of control to be employed when and if occasion demands. Disregarding such minor amendments as experience may in the future indicate to be expedient, and bearing in mind the wide latitude that may be and, in general, has been exercised in the actual application of potential powers of control by the United States over the actions of the Government of the Philippine Islands, it is not apparent that such powers of guidance and direction as have been reserved, under the present organic act, to the Federal Government and its appointees in the Philippine Islands, exceed the minimum of control necessary for the reasonable assurance that our responsibilities in the islands shall duly be met.

c. To grant immediate and complete independence.

The weight of evidence appears to be clearly against the wisdom and justice of this course. There is good ground to believe that economic reasons alone are sufficient to negative its selection. Our national responsibility for a sound decision in this connection can not be transferred to the shoulders of either those Filipinos or those Americans who would force undue haste in the withdrawal of American protection and control from the Philippine Islands.

d. To announce that independence will be granted at the expiration of an indicated term of years.

This proposal appears basically unsound. If independence is to be granted and the Filipinos are now adequately prepared therefor, no sufficient reason for delay is apparent. If adequate preparation—political, economic, or social—does not now exist, the hazard of attempting to anticipate future developments to the extent of indicating a definite date at which it can safely be assumed that adequate preparedness will have been achieved appears to be unnecessary and inadvisable. The period to elapse before complete independence shall be granted should be outlined, if at all, in terms of objectives in the nature of conditions precedent to independence rather than in terms of years. If a period of time be stated in this connection, it is believed it should be stated not as a period to which the continuance of United States sovereignty shall be limited but as the minimum period which should elapse before there shall be considered the question as to whether or not the essential conditions precedent to independence shall have been achieved.

Of the four general courses heretofore outlined, the first one stated—to continue in effect the present organic act without substantial modification of its basic provisions—is believed to be that one best suited both to fulfill American obligations in the Philippine Islands and to advance the welfare of the Filipino people. It is further believed that the beneficial results incident to the adoption of that course will be decidedly increased if advantage be taken of the present opportunity to announce certain concrete objectives which, in the judgment of those now responsible for our general policy with respect to the Philippine Islands, should be substantially achieved by the Filipino people before further detailed consideration shall be given to proposals for granting them complete independ-

ence. This would tend toward a considerable period of stability during which the attention of the Filipino people may be centered upon the constructive solution of their domestic, political and economic problems instead of upon a futile and recurrent appeal for independence in advance of their readiness therefor. The concrete objectives should include both the definite relief of the United States from any degree of responsibility to the holders of obligations of the public debt of the Government of the Philippine Islands and the presentation of satisfactory evidence that an independent Philippine Government would be able to meet the necessary costs of government under the conditions which an independent status would presumably entail. They should also include satisfactory evidence that advances in public education among the masses of the people, in the establishment of a common language, and in the means for the general dissemination of information on public questions shall have reached a point reasonably indicative of an understanding and informed public opinion and should include similar evidence that an independent government would be reasonably well prepared to maintain itself against undermining influences, domestic or foreign.

All the conditions which should be fulfilled in order to justify ultimate independence can not easily be foreseen and defined with accuracy. Good faith must not only be assumed as actuating the parties concerned, but should be emphasized by just and considerate treatment of the Filipino people in the interim that must elapse. It must be understood that an honest attempt to outline the most essential conditions precedent to independence is not to be construed as a categorical listing of conditions the accomplishment of which can either be demonstrated by ex parte statistics or be accepted as evidence automatically establishing the right to immediate independence when the conditions mentioned may have been achieved.

It is believed, as already indicated, that the granting of complete independence at this time would be disastrous, alike, to the ultimate interests of both the Filipino and American people; that no diminution of American control in the islands, below that which may properly be effected under the present organic act, should be brought about while the responsibility incident to American sovereignty in the Philippines continues; and that it would be inexpedient and hazardous to attempt to anticipate future developments by fixing any future date for ultimate independence.—*Extracts, see 6, p. 160.*

### by Representative Beedy

**W**HEN shall we decide whether there is a stable government in the Philippines or not? We might drift on for 50 years and yet great differences of opinion would still exist among ourselves on this question. Fitness for self-government and stable government are elastic terms involving purely relative concepts.

We are confronting this grave question, which will continue to press more and more insistently upon us for an answer.

Has a people a right to set up its own government and administer it, even though that government in the sight of others be inefficient, cruel, despotic? This question suggests itself not only with respect to the Philippines, but

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### Guevara Cont'd

will not tolerate the exercise of such authority. It is not the authority that the framers of the Constitution of the United States had in mind. I am sure that no American could ever expect that the Filipino people would agree perpetually to remain as a colony or possession of the United States. If they are to be retained under the American flag, it would be their God-given right to demand a full enjoyment of the rights and privileges enjoyed by American citizens. Since this is not possible, then the logical step would be to sever our present political relations and to permit the Filipino people to occupy the place that destiny has reserved for them under the sun.

I wish to believe that the political doctrine enunciated 30 years ago about the "imperial destiny" of the United States is one that belongs to history alone. The United States participated in the World War and unfurled her flag in the battle-fields of Europe to announce to the world that she stands for human freedom and the principles of eternal justice. For the sake of these principles the United States sacrificed the best of her youth. Many American homes still mourn the absence of their dearest ones who died on foreign battle-fields in the name of freedom and justice. After this sacrifice of lives the American people will not build over the graves of their dead the monument of imperialism and autocracy. This needs no further discussion, because the mere suggestion would be an intolerable insult to their traditions and history.

Now, I will come to the discussion of the statement that the Philippines is a liability to the United States. I may concede that the Philippines is a liability to the United States economically, politically, and internationally. Nevertheless the United States of her own volition has assumed certain obligations over the Philippine Islands, and I am sure that if the Filipino people could have prevented it, she would not be carrying at present the burden resulting from the retention of the Philippine Islands. There is still an opportunity for the Filipino people to be of service to the United States. They are willing to relieve her of the burden by accepting their independence when it is granted. When this day comes the American people may be sure that our lakes and rivers, our seas, bays, and mountains, and our lives and fortunes will be at their disposal in case of need, and our people will be praying for the coming of a day when they can prove to the American people their gratitude. Notwithstanding the fact that many Americans are advocating that once the United States leave the Philippine Islands, she should have no more responsibility there, the Filipino people can not, and will never forget the constructive association they have enjoyed with the United States. We are determined to occupy our place in the concert of free nations in any form and situation. If the United States thinks it advisable to her interests to leave adrift in the wide ocean a country which she helped build, it is her prerogative. We are determined to live an independent life.—*Ext.*, see 10, p. 160.

### by Representative Ragon

**F**REEDOM and independence has been promised the Philippines by every official spokesman of the United

States Government in the Philippines since the administration of President McKinley. We are facing this unqualified promise for independence upon one hand and the demands of powerful groups to fulfill that promise on the other hand.

These conditions which have only recently grown to such great proportions have caused me to change my mind and believe that we will never have a satisfactory solution of this question until we give them their independence. Our flag has always stood as hope and protection of a weak and feeble people, even on our own shores, in the West Indies, in South and Central America; yes, since the World War even to the small and weak countries in the far reaches of Europe. That flag was carried into the Orient as a guide rail for 12,000,000 weak and helpless people to use in learning the paths of self-government, and these people are now ready to walk alone and to stand alone, and today they are looking up onto the folds of that flag and asking you and me if it is our purpose to permit it to become a flag of a hope deferred and a promise broken.

The grange, dairy products organizations, and the American Farm Bureau, representing 25,000,000 American farmers who are in a condition of greatest distress, have demanded independence for the islands. They feel that the present commercial status with the islands is working a hardship upon the American farmer and they are asking that these cords of restraint upon our own flesh and blood be broken and the islands be given their independence. The strong plea of American labor is added in protection for itself and in sympathy for the pitiful condition of American agriculture. The industrialists of the East, smarting under their tariff disappointments, will complete the powerful coalition for independence of the Philippines.

Twenty-five million American farmers, twelve million Filipinos, several million American wage earners, and the industry of this country demand that this question be given a fair and open treatment.—*Extracts*, see 3, p. 160.

### by Representative Dyer

**O**NE theory advanced is that to grant Philippine independence might disturb the peace of the Orient by inspiring in other peoples there a desire to free themselves from European control. It is asserted that the granting of independence to the Philippines will stimulate a desire for independence on the part of these other dependencies. To give weight to such a theory would be to recognize an unsound philosophy or policy repugnant to the very best traditions of our Nation. We are proud that our experiment in self-government has been imitated by all the nations in South America and by many of the nations of Europe. The finest pages of our history are those recording the conflicts that have followed our own departure from colonial dependency.

We entered the Orient as the protectors of a down-trodden people and later assumed to guide them to the level of occidental civilization. That occidental civilization finds its highest expression in national independence.

At this date of our supremacy over the Philippines, 30 years after our occupation of the islands, to assert that our

*Continued on page 156*

**Beedy Cont'd**

with respect to our whole extraterritorial policy. Conversely, has any nation a right to enforce upon another people its own ideas of government, religion, or social life?

Those are profound questions. A great moral issue is involved. They become peculiarly pertinent in view of the signing of the Kellogg pact. It is obvious without discussion that any adequate consideration of the one involves consideration of the other. Certainly the United States should answer these questions in a pure spirit of unselfishness. If she would render effective assistance in the cause of world peace, she must make no mistake in her policy involving certain inalienable rights of other peoples. Her course should bespeak a sound philosophy of life under government.

To my Filipino friends let me venture the assertion that the day is not yet come when the United States should withdraw from the Philippines. This is not the time for the United States to launch a weak yet promising people upon the perilous sea of self-government. United States withdrawal from the Philippines today would be but a cruel blow to the best prospects of these lovable Filipino people whom we would assist to become an independent nation in the not too distant future.

In fixing upon the hour for Philippine independence we must consider the well-being of nations and peoples other than our own or the Filipinos. Indeed, we must look well to the cause of international peace. Today India seethes with revolt. China is rent with internal conflict. The whole spirit of the Orient is one of unrest and dangerous uncertainty. The launching of Philippine independence under existing conditions would be but an invitation to disaster.

We have labored in the Philippines for 30 years with beneficial results, which are acknowledge no less by the Filipinos than by the civilized world. To encounter unnecessary hazards in the safeguarding of betterments already attained would not only be unwise, it would be almost unforgivable.

Eliminating for the moment every consideration of economic well-being of the islands, the untimely withdrawal of America from the Philippines would, I believe, not only precipitate massacre but would engulf the Filipino people in such physical suffering as is revolting even to our contemplation. Let Philippine independence come after due notice to all parties and all interests involved. Let there be a period for adaptation and adjustment pending ultimate independence. This I believe to be the course of wisdom. Such a road we should follow if we would arrive at our ultimate objective, namely, the avoidance of property loss, the safeguarding of human life, and the launching of the Filipino ship of state under the happiest of auspices.—*Extracts, see 10, p. 160.*

**by Nicholas Roosevelt**

**I**T SEEMS to me that the Philippines ought to be very much more prepared to meet conditions involved in independence 30 years from now, when they not only will have had more experience in this form of government

than we have given them, but also will have had a little chance to develop more of their economic resources and get the financial and economic basis of a free state.

I raise the point as to whether we have not got in the meantime obligations to the great mass of the Filipino people. We have been talking for the most part about three classes, about merchants or business men who have invested a few million dollars in the islands; about American business interests in this country which fear competition from Philippine products, and about the Filipino political leaders.

I have never for a moment questioned the sincerity of the Filipino political leaders who bespeak independence, whether it be immediate or ultimate. But that does not change the point that I am trying to raise as to whether we have not got obligations to people other than the political class which I think in many ways might benefit quite well from immediate independence. But have we not obligations to the rest of the people of the islands?

I simply want to bring that side of the matter up, but even so, I do not want to give the impression that I feel that the gentlemen who come here and who talk there in behalf of independence do not mean what they say. I think a great many Filipinos have no idea what independence means, and I would hazard the opinion that if you were to cross-question a great many prominent Filipinos you would come to the conclusion that they mean autonomy; they do not mean independence. They do not mean complete severance whereby the United States washes her hands of the whole business.

I made a statement to that effect some time ago and was roundly spanked by the Filipino press for saying that I thought that if there were any separation it should be a flat divorce, that we should retain no control of any sort, no financial guarantees, no further protection. In other words, I tried to bring out the complete responsibility which would be theirs if the American power were absolutely withdrawn. I do not think they want that. I think they do want to be able to run their own government; and, for that matter, they do now.

I question whether there is in the Philippines an understanding of what complete, immediate, and absolute independence really means.

Naturally, we listen with the greatest interest and respect to the interpretation their own leaders put upon it. I am not speaking about the leaders. The only point I make is that I doubt and question this expression of opinion. I doubt whether even the intelligent Filipinos, when they speak of independence, mean complete independence with no American protection, no financial guaranties, no aids of any sort, but just turn them loose—no free trade, everything closed down and treated as a foreign country. I do not think they understand that.

Let us assume that there is no difference of opinion, that they all say unanimously they want complete, immediate, absolute independence tomorrow. Let us assume that that is not questioned in any way.

The point I raise is this: Is that fair to the great mass of the Filipino people? Can the United States just rid itself by some declaration, some act of Congress, of all its moral responsibilities toward the Filipino people? For years we have been looking after them, possibly too much,

*Continued on page 157*



# Is America Committed to

◀ PRO ▶

by Speaker Roxas

**G**RANTED the necessity of a final and definite declaration regarding the future status of the Philippine Islands, it is important to determine what that status should be. This question was formally and authoritatively defined by the Congress in the preamble of the Jones Act. That document states that "it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." This declared policy is in accord with authoritative pronouncements of American Presidents and other officials who could assume the right to speak on behalf of the American people. President McKinley, than whom no other could better express the designs of the United States in the Philippines, warned the people at the inception of American occupation:

The Philippines are ours not to exploit but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government.

In his instructions to the first Philippine Commissioner, Mr. McKinley expressed the hope that the commissioners would be received as bearers of—the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation.

These statements were received by the Filipinos as assurances of independence. Their feeling was strengthened by the words of the president of the first Philippine Commission, Dr. Jacob G. Schurman. Expounding the American policy, he said:

Ever increasing liberty and self-government \* \* \* and it is the nature of such continuously expanding liberty to issue in independence.

In 1904, Mr. Taft, while Secretary of War, declared:

When they (the Filipino people) have learned the principles of successful popular self-government from a gradually enlarged experience therein we can discuss the question whether independence is what they desire and grant it \* \* \*.

In 1908, President Roosevelt in a message to Congress said:

I trust that within a generation the time will arrive when the Filipinos can decide for themselves whether it is well for them to become independent.

And in 1913, President Wilson in a message to the Filipino people said:

Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a preparation for that independence.

It is thus to be seen that independence is and has always been the goal and objective of America's Philippine policy. The Jones Act merely gave legal and constitutional sanction to that policy.

But there are some who, through legal disquisitions of doubtful sincerity or through subterfuge, attempt to deny the declaration in the Jones Act as an expression of pur-

pose and policy in relation to the Philippines, the authority and finality that it denotes. It is alleged that because the declaration was inserted in the preamble and not in the body of the act itself it lacks the authority of a legal enactment. This argument is groundless and capricious. Whether a part of the law or not, the declaration constitutes a definition of national policy made formally by the only authority possessed of the power to make such declaration. The debate which took place in both Houses of Congress shows how seriously the question was considered. Action was taken thereon with deliberation and with full knowledge of its purport and significance. The very wording of the title of the act indicates that such declaration of policy was one of the objects and the most important one of the law.

But it is contended that even admitting such declaration as an authoritative pronouncement of policy, the same can have no binding force, for Congress can restate it, amend it, or repeal it altogether. As a purely legal proposition such a claim must be conceded. Congress has that power. But while that declaration is allowed to remain in the statute books it constitutes the settled and definite policy of the United States toward the Philippines. So long must it be the guide and inspiration in the administration of the affairs of the islands. Granting that the power exists, has anything occurred to induce America to swerve from the traditional course of freedom and democracy which from the very beginning she has pursued in the Philippines? What is there involving the fate or safety of this Nation or the peace of the world, which can force America to break her pledge? On the contrary, all the events which have transpired since that declaration was made justify the approved policy and compel its maintenance.

This declaration of purpose, however, partakes of a character more definite and final than that of a mere legal enactment. It implies both a definition of policy and a promise of independence to the Filipinos. They have accepted that promise and are relying upon it in their efforts to achieve their freedom. Quoting the words of the author of the act, the late Congressman Jones, it is "the everlasting covenant of a great and generous people speaking through their accredited representatives that they (the Filipinos) shall in due time enjoy the incomparable blessings of liberty and freedom."

President Roosevelt expressed this idea more strongly when he said:

Personally I think it is a fine and high thing for a nation to have done such a deed with such a purpose. But we can not taint it with bad faith. If we act so that the natives understand us to have made a definite promise, then we should live up to that promise.

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# Philippine Independence?

by General Parker

**M**ANY pronouncements have been made from time to time during the past 30 years which, whatever may have been their individual and aggregate value as binding national commitments, have in fact carried, in the United States, in the Philippine Islands, and abroad, weight varying, in each case, with the source, time, and circumstances of the respective statement.

Nothing in the treaty, or in a related resolution (S. Res. 240, 55th Cong., 3d sess.), passed by the Senate on February 14, 1899, stating the intentions of the Senate at that period relative to the Philippine Islands, contained any promise of subsequent independence for the islands, although that issue was definitely raised and passed upon by the Senate at that time. An amendment to Senate Resolution 240, proposed by Senator Bacon and including the declaration "That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise permanent sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the Philippine Islands," was considered and rejected by the Senate on February 14, 1899.

Certain of the pronouncements by representatives of the executive branch have been qualified by an intimation that the ultimate purpose to grant complete independence to the people of the Philippine Islands might not be given effect in case the people of the Philippine Islands should request a continuance of American sovereignty in those islands. At no time prior to the passage of the organic act of the Philippine Islands (approved August 29, 1916) had Congress indicated its purpose to grant ultimate independence to the Filipinos. The preamble to that organic act included a declaration to the effect that it was, and always had been, "the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." The same preamble, however, indicated plainly the conclusion of Congress, at that time, that the Philippine people was not then "prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence." Subsequent to the passage of the organic act, President Wilson, who had approved the act, definitely indicated, in a message to Congress (December 7, 1920), his acceptance as a fact, that the people of the Philippine Islands had "fulfilled the condition set by the Congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the islands" and his view that it was "our duty to keep our promise" by granting independence forthwith to the Philippine people. Other executive officials of the same administration (a Secretary of War and a Governor General of the Philippine Islands) made public statements of similar purport.

No one of the other six Presidents, or of the various Secretaries of War and Governors General, who successively held office from 1898 to the beginning of the present

administration, has, in so far as is known, given public expression, while charged with the responsibility incident to his office, to the view that the United States Government is committed to any policy involving complete independence for the people of the Philippine Islands prior to a time when that people may, in the best judgment of Congress, be adequately prepared to assume the full responsibilities incident to that status. The report of the Wood-Forbes special mission, which, at President Harding's direction, made a careful study of the situation in the Philippine Islands in 1921, included under its "conclusions" the following:

"We find that the people are not organized economically nor from the standpoint of national defense to maintain an independent government. \* \* \*

"In conclusion we are convinced that it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of our national duty were we to withdraw from the islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipinos the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable government."

The same report included under its "recommendations" the following:

"1. We recommend that the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands \* \* \*."

Following this official investigation of conditions in the Philippine Islands, made within a few months following President Wilson's statement of his views, by two men of long experience and outstanding accomplishment in insular administration, two successive Presidents (President Harding and President Coolidge) made public their conclusions—in both cases to the substantial effect that the people of the Philippine Islands were not, at the dates of the pronouncements (1922 and 1924, respectively), ready to assume the responsibilities incident to complete independence. Proposed legislation which, in 1924, received the careful consideration of both Houses of Congress (the so-called Johnson bill in the Senate and Fairfield bill in the House) and which contemplated future independence for the people of the Philippine Islands (but, in neither case, prior to about 1945) failed to receive the ultimate approval of either House.

The preamble to the organic act of 1916 declared, in substance, that the establishment in the Philippine Islands of "a stable government" should be a condition precedent to the granting of independence. At the time of the enactment of the organic act, a stable government was actually in existence in the Philippine Islands and had existed there for approximately 15 years. That fact was hardly unknown to Congress; and light as to the particular type of stable government which Congress had in view, as a condition precedent to independence, is presumably to be

*Continued on page 137*

### Roxas Cont'd

Fully aware of the real and true meaning of the declaration of purpose contained in the Jones Act, and having received detailed information regarding conditions obtaining in the Philippine Islands, President Wilson in his message of December 2, 1920, formally and officially reported to the Congress that the only condition required of the Philippines as a condition precedent to the recognition of its independence—a stable government—had been fulfilled. In urging that independence be granted to the Philippines he said:

Allow me to call your attention to the fact that the people of the Philippine Islands have succeeded in maintaining a stable government since the last action of the Congress in their behalf, and have thus fulfilled the condition set by the Congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the islands.

I respectfully submit that this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and duty to keep our promise to the people of these islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet.

This official certification and recommendation awaits the action of Congress. The stability of the government of the Philippine Islands, attested to by the President of the United States, still exists. If any changes have occurred, the changes have been in the direction of greater stability and security.—*Extracts, see 5, p. 160.*

### by Representative Fairfield

**I**F the government of backward peoples is a sacred trust, as has often been said, then the United States has gone further than any other power in the world to carry that principle of trusteeship into effect. An orderly government has been established and maintained in a part of the world where, with the exception of one great power, disorder is the rule. The Filipinos have developed a national life and are rapidly proving to the world that they are capable of self-government.

It might be well to state what has been said by leading men in authoritative positions concerning what should be our attitude toward the Philippines. In 1900 Mr. McKinley stated in his instructions to the American Commission to the Philippines that the American policy "is not for our satisfaction or for the experiment of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the Filipinos themselves."

Fifteen per cent of the annual revenues of the islands are expended on public instruction. The colonies of other countries spend from 2 to 4 per cent. More and more reliance has come to be placed upon Filipino teachers, and the number of foreign teachers has been diminishing with each successive year.

Thus far the Government of the United States has conserved the resources of the Filipino people to the development of their own best interests. What of our stewardship as to the governmental policies?

Elihu Root in the Republican convention of 1904 stated that the Philippines might eventually be given some status

such as Cuba. Dr. J. G. Sherman, president of the first commission to the Philippines, said that American policies in the Philippines would "issue in independence."

In 1908 President Roosevelt expressed the hope that within a generation the Philippines would "decide for themselves whether it is well for them to become independent."

President Taft also stated that the very policy which the Americans were pursuing must "logically reduce and finally end the sovereignty of the United States."

In 1913 President Wilson made the statement "Every step we take will be taken with the view to the ultimate independence of the islands."

In 1916, the preamble to the Jones Act declared, "It was never the intention of the United States in the incipency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement."

It is as it has always been the purpose of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established. Perhaps there is more indefiniteness in that statement concerning a stable government than any possible statement that could have been put into the preamble.

In June, of 1922, President Harding stated that "Whether wisely or not, our disavowal of permanent retention was made in the very beginning, and a reversal of that attitude will come, if ever, only at your request."

Theodore Roosevelt said in 1915, "We can not taint our work in the Philippines with bad faith."

In June, of 1922, President Harding promised the Philippines, "No backward step is contemplated, no diminution of your domestic control is to be sought."

There has never been from any representative man in government a statement at variance with the conception that ultimately freedom should be granted to the Philippines, if they should so desire. These promises have not been empty words.—*Extracts, see 7, p. 160.*

### Dyer Cont'd from p. 152

granting their freedom would be unwise because of the stimulus it would give to other nations cherishing like hopes, is to validate a theory which will have but little weight with real Americans.

We can hardly justify a course which began with the object of establishing a democracy in the Orient and which is to end in colonial control.

As will be verified by current events, there are eastern colonies now endeavoring to assert their aspiration for national identity and moving toward independence, wholly without regard to our attitude in the matter of the Philippine Islands. Our presence in the Orient in these instances has not deterred desires for national self-expression.

Furthermore, our treatment and disposition of the Philippine Islands will largely be the measure by which the Orient will weigh our international honesty. We are

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**Parker Cont'd from p. 155**

found in the further statement, later in the same preamble, of the desirability of placing "in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence." The inescapable inference would appear to be that Congress had in mind, at that time, a government which should be dependent for its stability, not upon the sustaining arm of the United States, but upon the preparedness of the Philippine people to exercise, unaided by outside support, "the responsibilities \* \* \* of complete independence."

The declaration as to independence, incorporated by Congress in the preamble to the organic act of 1916, and formally concurred in by the President who approved that act, appears to be the most definite and specific pronouncement in that connection made up to that time and emanating jointly from the legislative and executive branches of our Government. It is to be noted, however, that Congress has never indicated its concurrence in President Wilson's conclusion of December, 1920, to the effect that the conditions precedent to independence, as set forth in the preamble to the organic act, have been fulfilled.

In connection with the conditions precedent set forth in the preamble to the organic act, it should be noted that, so long as the United States maintains in the Philippine Islands the control essential to insure that its obligations incident to sovereignty there may duly be met, the resulting government of the islands can, in fact, not be one either "established" or maintained by the people of the Philippine Islands; and that, on the other hand, for the United States to withdraw its sovereignty and guidance merely because the government which it has established and maintained in the islands is stable, and without reasonable assurance that the Philippine Government which would take over sovereignty and control upon the withdrawal of the United States would also have the elements upon which stability is founded, would constitute an obvious evasion or abandonment of obligations which, having been assumed, wisely or unwisely, we are in duty bound to meet.

No commitment to immediate or early independence, entered into by the people or Government of the United States, has been found; and no commitment as regards ultimate independence has been found which appears to be more binding than the correlative obligations for the continuation of American sovereignty over the Philippine Islands until the trust which has been assumed, in behalf of the Philippine people as a whole, can honorably be terminated when they are adequately prepared "to fully assume the responsibilities \* \* \* of complete independence."—*Extracts, see 6, p. 160.*

**Roosevelt Cont'd from p. 153**

but let us leave that out of the question. The fact is we have been nursing them along, you might say. We have been helping them in every way. We have been spending money for them. We have been encouraging them in education. We have been putting in wells so that they will get good water to drink instead of getting sick from drinking contaminated water. We have done a great deal for them. It has been said that we have done too much. I do not want to raise that point. But the point I do want to raise is that suddenly we stop all this and the islands are turned loose, simply for two reasons—there is demand for complete, immediate, and absolute independence, and here there are selfish interests that think that demand should be gratified.

But what have you got? You have got 11,000,000 people who have been turning to Uncle Sam when they got into trouble and who have been relying on us, suddenly given independence, which many of them have not even heard of, and do not even know what it is, what it means. Is it fair to them? Can we just rid ourselves of a responsibility like that?

All of these arguments that I have heard on the question of independence have been predicated on the maintenance of a stable government. There, again, one has to pass into, you might say, the realm of political metaphysics, by which I mean that we have to try to guess the future, and it is very unsatisfactory.

But there are only two points I want to make about that. The first is to recall what General Wood, who knew the Philippines and the Filipinos very well and who had a great sympathy and friendship for them and confidence in them, said on one occasion—I believe it is in one of his reports—that the existence of a stable government under the American flag can not be taken to imply the existence of a stable government when that flag is withdrawn.

In other words, it does not follow that just because they have had 14 or 20 or 30 years of our government, with always in the background the American flag, that that stability will continue when the American power is withdrawn.

In the first place, there are local difficulties, there are local jealousies which are not altogether realized in this country. Sometimes they are exaggerated; but the mere fact that there are various linguistic groups and the linguistic differences are such that people from one group have difficulty in understanding people from another group and that either English or Spanish has to be the language that bridges these linguistic differences—that starts us out with a situation which is different from what we have in this country.

In the past there have been jealousies—minor, to be sure, but nevertheless jealousies—between these different groups. Whenever a proposal has been made that the language of one group should be made the national language, at once all the others have risen up to say, "No, not that one. Ours must be the language." That is perfectly neutral.

I do not think you can make an Anglo-Saxon out of a Malay. I do not think the Filipinos necessarily want to

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**Dyer Cont'd from p. 156**

told that our retention of the Philippine Islands has a beneficial effect on our intercourse and trade with the Orient. But there is no evidence to conclude that a continuation of our sovereignty over the Philippines will be conducive to oriental friendship. If the Philippines people, actuated by the statements of our executives and by the promises and pledges made in our statutory law, demand, as they do, their independence, and we deny them that independence, it is not likely that our attitude will present a favorable aspect in the Orient.

As time goes on and we retain the Philippine Islands in complete sovereignty, it is scarcely probable that the oriental conception will credit us with those altruistic principles in which we take great national pride. The result may reverse what the advocates of retention now call our strategic position for trade in the Orient.

The holding of the Philippines for mere trade advantage in the Orient seems one-sided in its application, for the reason that while the Philippines offer to the United States a development of foreign trade, the status in which the Philippines find themselves is not conducive to the development of their own foreign trade. It must be recalled that while their trade with the United States increases, their markets in the Orient are narrowed.

The treaties and laws incident to our occupation of the Philippines did not provide for the ultimate freedom of the Philippines. But today it would seem hardly necessary, after all the discussion that has been had on this subject, to offer proof that we have promised to these people their ultimate sovereignty.—*Extracts, see 4, p. 160.*

**Roosevelt Cont'd from p. 158**

adopt in toto, in full, the Anglo-Saxon form of government.

I did not mean to give the impression that I felt that with long tutelage, even under the Jones law, they would not have much more experience and would not, as they passed on for a generation or two, be much better fitted to handle the machinery of government than they are at the present time.

That is a distinction which I want to be sure to get clear, because I would not want it felt that I did not appreciate that.

My last point has to do with one of the groups of the islands, the Moros.

The Moros, as you know, are the Mohammedan element. There are only about 500,000 of them. They happen to inhabit one of the richest of the undeveloped islands, Mindanao, and also in the Sulu Archipelago. They are a people who have had a special relation with the Americans. They are a quarrelsome people. They fought us, they fought the Spaniards, they fought the Filipinos. But the Americans made an agreement with them when we finally disarmed them, which I believe international lawyers might say was not altogether binding, because it was simply a treaty between one general and the heads of

contending forces, but the substance of which has been carried on in our relations with the Moro people until the passage of the Jones law.

I do not want to go into details of the present or recent quarrels between the Filipinos and the Moros. I simply want to report the conversations that I have had with various Moro leaders and that I have had with Americans who have lived among the Moros for years and know their language; and I make this statement, calling attention to the fact that naturally their sentiments are strongly pro-Moro, that if we get out, if America withdraws from the islands and does not make some special provision to cover the Moros—in other words, if the Americans turn the Moros over to the Filipinos—they will chase every last Filipino into the sea. And it is a thing that they can do, too, because they are a fighting, active people, and it is a matter of life and death for them. Certainly the impression grew up there among the various Moro leaders that they would subject themselves to government by Americans but not government by Filipinos.

That is a limited thing, but it is a problem which it seems to me can not be overlooked in considering some of the possible consequences of the granting of independence.—*Extracts, see 5, p. 160.*

**This Month's Contributors**

**HON. HENRY L. STIMSON**, U. S. Secretary of State. Former Governor General of Philippine Islands.

**HON. PATRICK N. HURLEY**, U. S. Secretary of War.

**BRIG. GEN. FRANCIS L. J. PARKER**, U. S. A., Chief of U. S. Bureau of Insular Affairs.

**HON. MANUEL ROXAS**, Speaker, House of Representatives, Philippine Islands.

**LOUIS W. FAIRFIELD**, former U. S. Rep., Indiana, Republican.

**HON. CAMILO OSIAS**, Resident Commissioner from the Philippine Islands to the United States.

**HON. HARRY B. HAWES**, U. S. Senator, Missouri, Democrat.

**HON. HIRAM BINGHAM**, U. S. Senator, Conn., Republican. Chairman, Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

**HON. PEDRO GUEVARA**, Senior Resident Commissioner from Philippine Islands to United States.

**HON. HEARTSILL RAGON**, U. S. Rep., Arkansas, Democrat.

**HON. LEONIDAS C. DYER**, U. S. Rep., Missouri, Republican.

**HON. CARROLL L. BEEDY**, U. S. Rep., Maine, Republican.

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